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Figure 2. Corner chair with commode seat, descended in the Ficklen family of "Belmont," Falmouth, Virginia, third quarter eighteenth century, walnut throughout. One-piece rear seat rails and shoes; 45° bevel at back of splat; skirt rasped and perhaps reshaped; knee brackets missing; casters and slip seat not original. 31 3/4 inches high to crest rail, 18 inches square at seat frame. Private collection. MESDA research file 5978.

Fredericksburg-Falmouth Chairs in the Chippendale Style

ANN W. DIBBLE

The discovery, through the field research program of the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts, of three groups of chairs with related design and construction characteristics and with early histories which base them in or near the Fredericksburg-Falmouth area of Virginia has prompted further appraisal of chairmaking in that region.

In addition to the interrelated styles and consistently similar construction techniques, at least one chair from each group has a convincing provenance which places it within a twenty-mile radius of Fredericksburg and Falmouth in the eighteenth century.

It is therefore possible to attribute these chairs to craftsmen in this important area of the Rappahannock River of Virginia.

Fredericksburg and neighboring Falmouth, Virginia (Fig. 1), are located on the fall line of the Rappahannock River and were established after authorization from the Virginia General Assembly in 1727. Between 1727 and 1769, Fredericksburg was enlarged from the original fifty acres four times by legislative acts.¹ The twin cities served as a vital trading center, supplying provisions from wharves, warehouses, stores, and artisan shops to settlers who were opening up the new lands to the west. The Rappahannock port was the regional center for the export of grain, tobacco, and iron, and the sale of these products stimulated the area's growth and



Figure 1. Section from the 1775 Fry and Jefferson map of Virginia. Thirteen of the seventeen chairs discussed in this article can be traced to eighteenth century ownership in the Fredericksburg and Falmouth area circled at the fall-line of the Rappahannock River (A). The squares represent family ownership of examples in Germanna (B), Spotsylvania County (C), and at "Shirley" in Charles City County (D).

economic development. The population of Fredericksburg has been estimated at 3,000 to 4,000 in 1785.² Fredericksburg and Falmouth supported a number of artists and craftsmen, including silversmiths, clockmakers, cabinetmakers, chairmakers, joiners, miniaturists, and limners, who often advertised their services in the local newspaper, *The Virginia Herald*, founded in 1787. A number of cabinetmakers and chairmakers are known to have worked in the area in the eighteenth century,

but no locally made signed or labeled pieces are known.³

Three walnut commode corner chairs (Fig. 2, 3, 4), with a unique construction of the arm rails and similar design elements, have a Fredericksburg area provenance and comprise the first group.

Each chair has three separate units forming the arm rail, which in turn supports the crest rail. This feature, unknown on any other corner chairs, differs considerably from the typical corner chair, which has a visually continuous arm rail comprising two rails lapped at the center of the back. Columnar turnings, which support the arm rails, emerge from the squared extensions of the legs that protrude above the seat at the three back corners. The center turning on each chair is glued into a crowning U-shaped piece, which supports the crest rail. The lines of an arch continue from the base of the crest rail onto the curved back edges of the arms, leading the eye easily into the lines of the splats. This method of organizing and constructing the back may be a regional characteristic, but more likely it is peculiar to one chairmaker or his shop.⁴ Each corner chair is within one-eighth inch of the same height at the crest rail and one-half inch of the same square at the seat rail. The tops of the seat rails are squared off to accommodate the outer slip seat. Each back rail and shoe holding the base of the splats is of a single piece of wood. This latter feature has been found on chairs from Tidewater Virginia down into the Albemarle Sound region of North Carolina. The deep skirts on each of the chairs are scalloped to hide the additional functional aspects. Pierced splats, cut with a 45° bevel at the back, are of the Chippendale style and fill the spaces between the turned elements.

One of the commode corner chairs, displaying various elements in its design which point to the chairmaker's attempt to make it "high style," descended in the Ficklen family of "Belmont" in Falmouth (Fig. 2). An awareness of contemporary design is evident in the use of a claw-and-ball front foot, trifid rear feet, acanthus carving on the cabriole knee, the curvilinear, tightly S-scrolled Queen Anne splats with interlacing piercings of the Chippendale style, and the curves and volutes of the crest rail. The front foot (Figs. 2a, 2b) of this corner chair has a rather flat, oval ball gripped by talons which have no webbing and only slightly pronounced knuckles. A vague effort has been made with barely distinguish-

able horizontal lines to give the impression of claws protruding to form the pointed ends of the talons. The rear talon is straight except for a minute indentation in the center and at the top where it joins the ankle.⁵ Note the similar claw-and-ball in Figures 6 and 7.

The carving, which is contained within the contours of the knee, starts less than an inch below the top of the seat rail, extending the decoration above the knee—a feature rare in the South but sometimes found on New York and Philadelphia arm and side chairs.⁶ An unusual feature of the carving (Fig. 2b) is the manner in which two pairs of leaf fronds curl inward to overlap an underlying leaf. This is particularly noticeable at the lower portion of the carving. Compare this motif with that used in Figures 3 and 6a.

The carving is not skillfully executed; the leaves above the cabriole have a vague three-dimensional feeling that disappears in the area of the poorly modeled flower and the leafy volutes. Incised lines in the leaves follow the contours of the outer edges of the leg, and deep gouges in the underlying leaf awkwardly represent an unrealistic vascular system. The knee has lost its volute-shaped brackets, the outlines of which are seen on the skirt (Fig. 2a). Evidence of carving on the knee shows that only one segment of the leaves extended onto the bracket, which probably had some internally contained decoration. The brackets were applied with glue; no evidence of nailing or pegging remains. There is no evidence of pegging the front leg to the mortises of the side rails.

The scalloped skirts seem to have experienced some harsh rasping that may have altered their depth and design. The rear legs have thick, squarish trifid feet with stubby, vaguely rounded toes. The rounded ankles become completely square below the skirt, and this transitional area gives the impression of

Figure 2a. Profile of cabriole leg, and claw-and-ball foot. Note outline of missing knee bracket from which uppermost leaves emerged. Compare with Figures 3, 6, and 7.

Figure 2b. Frontal view of cabriole leg and claw-and-ball foot. The leaves are in two planes with many of the fronds of the upper layer curving inward. An asymmetrical shell is in the upper section and an upturned flower is on the knee. Compare Figures 3 and 6a.

knees. The turnings are of the Doric order and support a tapering thimble turning that extends into the arm rail. This type of turning appears not only in Figure 2, but again in Figure 3.

The splats are seated in a high shoe. The molding of the shoe in Figure 2 is more elaborate than that which appears on the shoe of Figure 3 or the shoe of Figure 4. With their fretting, scrolled ears, and reverse curves, the splats of this chair seem very similar to an English design which was popularly adopted in Philadelphia. The upper halves of the splats are pierced by an interlacing variation of a figure eight. Variations of this type of decoration were popular in the Chippendale period and similar intertwinnings can be found in the splats of chairs from other colonies.⁷ The interlacing strapwork on the Ficklen chair (Fig. 2), though crudely carved, adds richness and dimension and creates a focal point.

The arms have S-curves with a wide swing which break from the restrained square base. They extend emphatically outward past the legs, corner posts, and turned elements framing the chair base and splats and can be easily compared to the similar shapes of the arms on the chairs in Figures 4, 6, 8, and 10, which are from the same area. The arm rails in Figure 2 are crowned by a shaped crest rail. The ends of the rails have S-curves terminating with scrolled volutes.

A second corner chair (Fig. 3) with commode seat, a claw-and-ball front foot, stylized acanthus carving on the knee, and squarish back feet is similar in many ways to the Ficklen chair (Fig. 2). It descended in the Boggs family of Spotsylvania County, from which Fredericksburg was formed in 1782. The piece is evidence of the accuracy of Joseph Hadfield's description of Fredericksburg in 1785 as "a considerable town of trade, furnishing the country around."⁸ The Boggs family lived in a rural area about twenty-five miles southwest of Fredericksburg. Similarities of form, design, and construction suggest that the Boggs chair was from the same shop as the Ficklen chair. However, there are design and construction differences which suggest another chairmaker's hand.

The chair has a heavy, thick, and stylized form. The talons on the claw-and-ball foot have pointed ends that are not well pronounced. The ball is somewhat vertically oriented, and the ankle rises out of the foot without the curving ascent seen in the Ficklen chair in Figure 2. The carving and the knee start



Figure 2a.



Figure 2b.



Figure 3. Corner chair with commode seat, descended in the Boggs family of Spotsylvania County, Virginia, third quarter eighteenth century, walnut throughout. One-piece rear seat rails and shoes; 45° bevel at back of splat; posts doweled through arm rails; knee brackets restored after impression of the originals; slip seat restored. 31 $\frac{1}{8}$ inches high to crest rail, 18 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches square at seat frame. Compare with Figures 2 and 6. Collection of Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts. MESDA research file 6220.

abruptly about one-fifth of the way down the front corner. Unlike the construction method used on the Ficklen chair, no attempt was made to hide the pegged joint of the side rails into the front leg. The knee is flanked by restored brackets glued onto the seat rail, duplicating the original method and

shape. From these brackets spring the sources of the acanthus carving and the C-scroll on the lower edge of the knee (Fig. 3) — a direct contrast to the design that appears on the front leg of the Ficklen chair (Fig. 2).

Three layers of leaves appear in the knee carving. The lower fronds of the two upper layers of leaves curl inward in overlapping C-scrolls in close harmony with the pattern of the leaves on the Ficklen chair. The third and bottom leaf layer starts at the junction of the knee and the corner and continues as an unadorned central vein imposed on the arris to the point where the second layer of fronds curve in. The leaf has serrated edges and descends the knee, terminating with its pointed end turning over and to the left of the leg in an exaggerated S-curve. This terminal is very similar to ones appearing in Figure 2b and in Figure 6.

The carving is extremely stiff and stylized. Except for the final overturned leaf, there is no feeling that the foliage is natural. Straight incised lines follow the exterior contours of the leaves, and chip carving in coupled parallel lines or curves fills the background above the C-scroll.

The long, loose, and shallow reverse curves of the skirts differ from those on the Ficklen chair, as do the squarish rear legs and feet. The turnings of the Doric order are thicker and vary in components from those appearing on the Ficklen piece.

The splats are set into shoes which have a single molded edge of the usual type found on chairs with Fredericksburg-Falmouth histories. The bases of the splats have strong S-curves framing a heart-shaped piercing and are repeated at the tops of the splats above a central curved and splayed section with four ribs. Note the variation of this pattern in Figures 6 and 7.

The three-piece arm rail shows variations in the treatment of the center section and in the curves and terminals of the arms. Like others of this group, the center back has a U-shaped piece, but unlike the chair in Figure 2 and the one shown in Figure 4, it is not stepped prior to its transition with the crest rail. The arm rails swing from the back edge, breaking into a rigid reverse curve at the turned supports. The hands are scrolled and knuckled, reflecting perhaps a later and more stylish conception, but a severity is inherent in the design. Unlike the Ficklen chair (Fig. 2), the crest rail has no curvilinear form except the reclining reverse curves of the frontal plane.



Figure 4. Corner chair with commode seat (altered), descended in the Scott family of "Scotia," Fredericksburg, Virginia, third quarter eighteenth century, walnut with yellow pine seat supports. One-piece back rails and shoes; 45° bevel at back of splat. 31 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches high to crest rail, 18 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches square at seat frame. Private collection. MESDA research file 5964.

The third corner chair (Fig. 4), descended in the John Scott family of "Scotia," and makes an interesting comparison and contrast to the other two. Unlike the others, this chair has Marlborough legs with a chamfer down the inside back edges. The skirt is shaped with elongated, deeply accentuated S-curves which tend to make the chair appear heavier at the bottom.



Figure 5. Side chair, descended in the Stansbury family of "Snowden" in Fredericksburg, Virginia, third quarter eighteenth century, cherry. One-piece back rail and shoe; arched back rail; feet tipped on front. 37½ inches high to ear, 20½ inches wide at seat. Private collection. MESDA research file 5891.

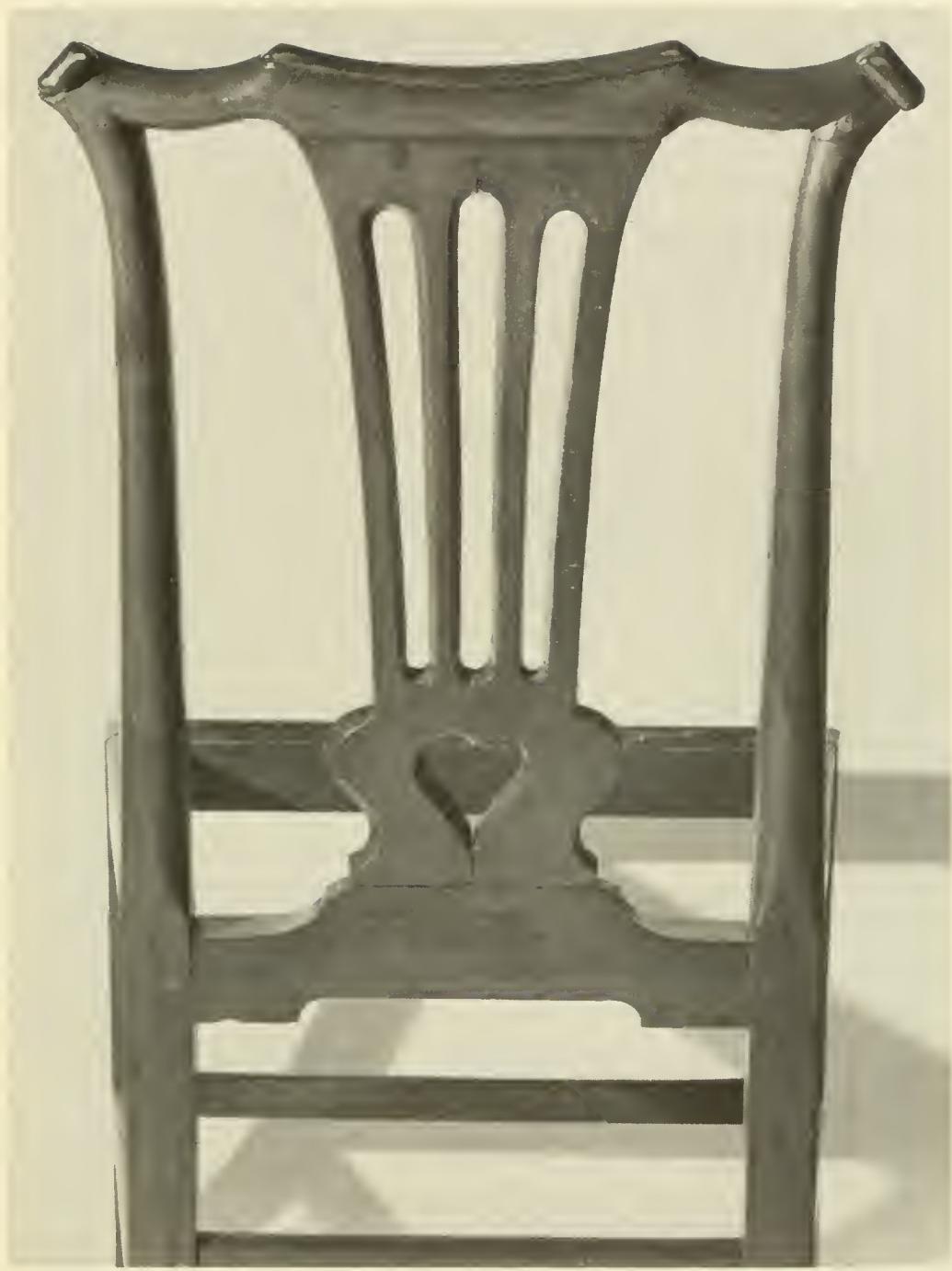


Figure 5a. Rear view of side chair showing one-piece shoe and arched under-rail. 45° bevel at end.

The turnings are less elaborate than those seen in Figures 2 and 3. A ring is all that separates the columnar form from the plinth, which deviates from the classical ring, reel, and ring bases on the other corner chairs. The lines of the splats are not crisp and distinguishable, and the baluster forms are pierced with

three asymmetrical voids that are basically lozenge-shaped with rounded upper edges. These voids are reminiscent of the trefoil designs seen in English and American Chippendale chairs with Gothic-inspired splats.⁹ Seemingly, the chairmaker borrowed these forms and rearranged them to fit the baluster-shaped splat.

The arms of the Scott chair (Fig. 4) are reverse-curved with vigorous outwardly turning terminals like those on the Ficklen chair (Fig. 2), but the top surface is more rounded and the proportions are thinner. The sweep of the arms can be compared significantly to the two arm chairs illustrated in Figures 8 and 10, which have histories in the Fredericksburg area. The S-curves of the arms are repeated in the cross-section of the crest rail, which ends in small volutes similar to the Ficklen commode chair.

There is a strong case that the three corner commode chairs were made in Fredericksburg. All of them have the three-part interrupted arm rails not seen elsewhere. While the design among the three varies, all have close measurement comparisons, as well as unmolded flat tops to the seat rail, an uncommon feature in Virginia commode chairs. Construction details — particularly in frame pegging (the Ficklen chair [Fig. 2] with pegs at the back posts only, the Boggs chair [Fig. 3] with pegs at back and front posts, and the Scott chair [Fig. 4] with no pegs at the seat frame) — suggest the possibility of several craftsmen's working in the same shop, or at least as a part of the same school within the area.

Arm and side chairs (Figs. 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9), which have a splat design comparing closely with that used in the Boggs corner chair (Fig. 3), are included in a second group. These chairs, like the corner commode chairs, have a one-piece shoe and back rail. However, an additional feature is the appearance of an arched back rail underside (Fig. 5a). The MESDA research program found that this arched under-rail is a dominant characteristic found in the Fredericksburg area and that it is seldom seen on Virginia chairs south of that area.¹⁰

A cherry side chair (Fig. 5), descended from the Stansbury family of "Snowden" in Fredericksburg, has a heart-and-ribs splat that varies only slightly from those of the Boggs corner chair (Fig. 3) in not having volutes crowning the baluster.¹¹ The splat is cut with a 45° bevel on the back, a



Figure 6. Arm chair, descended in the Ferneyhough family of Fredericksburg, third quarter eighteenth century, mahogany. One-piece back rail and shoe; arched back rail; gadrooning glued onto the front seat rail. Compare carving with Figures 2, 3, and 7. Compare splat design with Figures 3, 5, 7, 8, and 9. Mary Washington House, Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities, Fredericksburg, Virginia. MESDA research file 8404.



Figure 6a. Detail of leg carving.

feature which is seen on the commode corner chairs, and which is common on chairs with histories in the area (Fig. 5a).¹² The shoe which holds the splat has a single molding, and the tops of the seat rails are simply rounded off—two additional characteristics noted on local chairs. The design of the splat, the pronounced scrolled ears, and the center dip on the crest rail are strongly reminiscent of the treatment of two mahogany chairs descending in the Ferneyhough and Spotswood families of Fredericksburg (Figs. 6 and 7).¹³

The Ferneyhough arm chair (Fig. 6) has unusual features with its outwardly turning dog-head arms and its gadrooning, which is glued along the front seat rail instead of being nailed from underneath in the standard manner.¹⁴ It has a single-piece shoe and arched back rail and has rounded off seat rails. It is

especially important not only because of its Fredericksburg history but also because of the close similarities in the design of the acanthus carving on the front legs (Fig. 6a) to the design and carving on the front leg of the Ficklen corner chair (Fig. 2b).



Figure 7. Side chair, purchased from the descendants of Governor Alexander Spotswood of Germanna, near Fredericksburg, Virginia, third quarter eighteenth century, mahogany with white pine slip seat. 38 $\frac{7}{8}$ inches high to ears, 17 $\frac{3}{8}$ inches high to seat rail, 21 $\frac{3}{8}$ inches wide. Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

Two layers of leaves, similar to the Boggs corner chair (Fig. 3), adorn the knees of the Ferneyhough arm chair. The upper layer originated on the missing knee brackets. The fronds hook inward toward the arris, reminiscent of both the Ficklen (Fig. 2) and the Boggs (Fig. 3) corner chairs. The lower acanthus leaf has a plain central vein. The leaves are carved with gouged lines and end in an oval-shaped point. Below the point is an upturned flower, similar to the one on the Ficklen chair knee (Fig. 2b). The carved lines are more flowing than those on the Boggs corner chair (Fig. 3). The deep gouges seem akin to the workmanship on the Ficklen corner chair (Fig. 2b).

On both the Ferneyhough (Fig. 6) and the Spotswood (Fig. 7) chairs, the claws with no webbing and unemphasized talons, as well as the pronounced ankle on a squat ovoid ball, are closely related to the Ficklen claw-and-ball foot (Fig. 2).

The more finely conceived and executed splats in the Ferneyhough and Spotswood chairs relate closely to the splats on the Boggs corner chair. Compare the splat designs in these chairs. The splats on the chairs from the second group are cut with a 45° bevel at the back and have an S-curved base enclosing a heart, a splaying center area with four ribs enriched by an intertwining lozenge, and crowning volutes. The heart-shaped area in the base of the splat has an acanthus appendage, and acanthus leaves frame the edges of the lower baluster form.

A cherry arm chair with a history of ownership in the Carter family of "Shirley," Charles City County, Virginia, is very similar to the Ferneyhough arm chair with its dog-head arm terminals, claw-and-ball feet, and an almost identical splat and crest rail design. It has an arched single-piece shoe and back rail.¹⁵

A simplified heart-and-ribs splat is found on two other arm and side chairs (Figs. 8 and 9) with Fredericksburg histories. These two chairs have the same crest rail design except that it swells in the center instead of dipping as seen on the Stansbury (Fig. 5), Ferneyhough (Fig. 6), and Spotswood (Fig. 7) chairs.

The walnut arm chair (Fig. 8) descended in the Hunter family of "Traveler's Rest" near Fredericksburg; the side chair (Fig. 9) has a history in the Custis family of Fredericksburg. Each chair has a single-piece arched back rail and shoe,

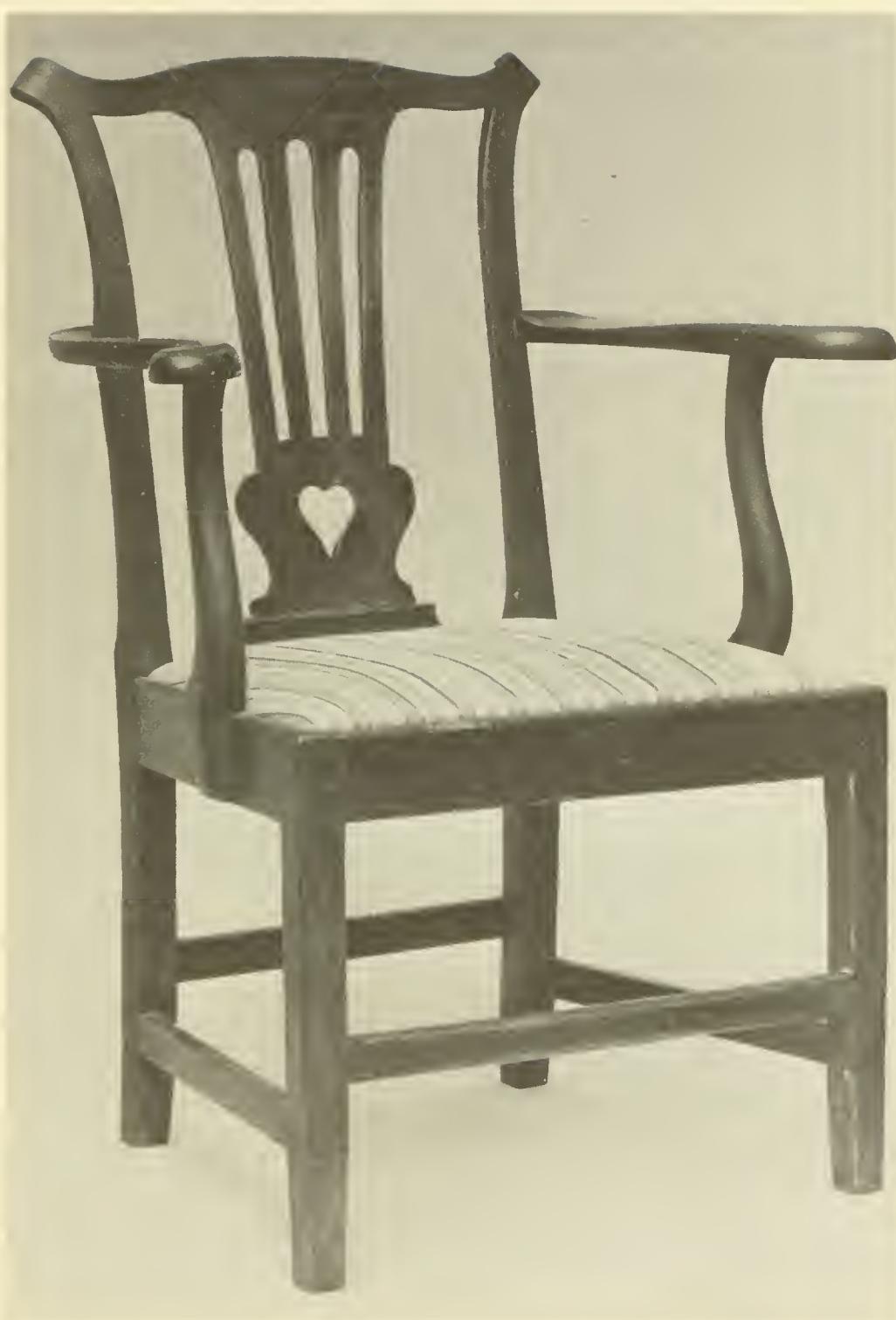


Figure 8. Arm chair, descended in the Hunter family of "Traveler's Rest" near Fredericksburg, third quarter eighteenth century, walnut throughout. One-piece shoe and back rail; arched back rail; arm notched into the back stiles; single peg construction; back of splat with 45° bevel; legs tipped. 38 $\frac{1}{8}$ inches high, 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches to seat rail, 22 $\frac{7}{8}$ inches wide. Private collection. MESDA research file 8324.



Figure 9. Side chair, descended in the Curtis family of Fredericksburg, third quarter eighteenth century, walnut throughout. One-piece shoe and back rail; arched back rail; 45° bevel to back of splat; back legs tipped; center stretcher missing. 37 inches high, 17 inches seat rail height, 21 inches wide. Private collection. MESDA research file 7451.

strongly scrolled ears, slightly rounded seat rails, single peg construction, and a 45° bevel on the back of the splat. The stepped molding on the shoe of the arm chair differs from the usual rounded molding seen on the side chair. The Custis chair (Fig. 9) had an H-stretcher configuration differing from the standard stretcher between the front two legs, as seen on the Hunter arm chair (Fig. 8) and on most chairs with a Fredericksburg provenance. The arms of the Hunter chair are notched into the back posts, a feature noted on other chairs from the area.¹⁶ The shaped outwardly swinging arms with rounded terminals are reminiscent of those on the arms of Figures 4 and 10.



Figure 10. Arm chair, history in Masonic Lodge Number 4, Fredericksburg, Virginia, third quarter eighteenth century, walnut with ash (determined by microanalysis) glue blocks. One-piece shoe and back rail; arched back rail; struck beading across crest and down posts; double, vertically grained glue blocks at front, single, vertically grained glue blocks in the back; arms notched into back stiles. 38 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches high, 21 $\frac{1}{8}$ inches wide. Private collection. MESDA research file 5928.



Figure 11. Side chair, descended from Robert Augustine Thornton of Fredericksburg, Virginia, third quarter eighteenth century, walnut with walnut glue blocks. One-piece shoe and back rail; arched back rail; single pegged at all joints; two-part vertically grained glue blocks in front; 45° bevel to back of splat. 38 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches high, 17 inches seat rail height, 20 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide. Private collection. MESDA research file 3132.

A walnut side chair (Fig. 11) descending in the Robert Augustine Thornton family is one of a third group of chairs attributable to the Fredericksburg area. The splat, common throughout Virginia, is composed of four interlacing C-scrolls that crown four outwardly splaying ribs and a characteristic crest rail with rounded horizontal ears and a dipping yoke in the center — features identical to those on three other walnut side chairs that have descended in three different families in Fredericksburg.¹⁷ Each has a single shoe with a single molding and an arched back rail, splats shaped with a 45° bevel at the back, single peg construction, and slightly rounded seat rails. Two of the chairs retain vertically grained two-part glue blocks in the front, and one retains a single vertically grained rear glue block. This third group of chairs is the only group to make use of glueblocks. Roman numerals are struck on the back rails on all of the chairs.¹⁸

It is improbable that the interrelated styles and the consistently similar construction techniques in the chairs cited in the text and in the notes are coincidental. Family traditions tie seventeen of these pieces to the Fredericksburg area and have facilitated and verified the stylistic analyses. Style, however, can be deceiving, since changing tastes and fashions constantly affect surface decoration. Constructional techniques and a craftsman's manner of working are less likely to vary. The arched back rail on the arm and side chairs, the 45° bevel on the back of all the splats, and the one-piece shoe and rail have been found so consistently in combination as to identify a Fredericksburg area of chaimaking and have led to the identification of several regional stylistic and construction traits.

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NOTES

1. Oscar H. Darter, *Colonial Fredericksburg and Neighborhood in Perspective* (1957), p. 61.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 63.
3. The Joseph Downs Manuscript and Microfilm Collection at the Henry Francis DuPont Winterthur Museum has a cabinetmaker's account book with entries dating from 1767 to 1777. The craftsman who recorded transactions therein seems to have lived in or near Fredericksburg and Falmouth until 1773, when he probably moved to Orange County. The list of customers includes Whales (Willis?) Haston (Houston?), James Madison, Mr. Myrie (Maurey?), and several members of the Taliaferro family. He paid wages to William "Billy" Walker, who may have been the same William Walker who died in Fredericksburg in 1807 and was called one of the oldest cabinetmakers in the town. (*Virginia Herald*, Fredericksburg, Virginia, February 3, 1807, page 3, column 1). The accounts indicate that the cabinetmaker was also a turner and chairmaker. A diverse group of items were made in his shop, including chests of drawers, book cases, clock cases, cabinets, key chests, dining tables, dressing tables, tea tables, corner tables, a "Salet" stand, "marlborough" chairs, riding chairs, "elbow" chairs, glass and picture frames, bedsteads, cradles, and coffins. He listed a "pillar and claw" table in his charges, an indication that claw-and-ball feet were in his design vocabulary and that he was capable of executing them. The woods used in his shop were "cherritree," walnut, maple, and pine.
For other work on chairs with Fredericksburg provenance, see Bradford L. Rauschenberg, "Two Outstanding Virginia Chairs," *Journal of Early Southern Decorative Arts*, November, 1976, pp. 1-23.
4. A search through published photographs of American corner chairs for other examples of this stylistic and construction detail has been fruitless, and it has not been found on other corner chairs with a Virginia provenance. A precedent will perhaps be found after more research has been done on the provincial furniture of England and Scotland.
5. Little is known or has been published about claw-and-ball feet on Virginia furniture. A group of two arm chairs, three side chairs, a wing chair, and a yellow pine secretary have been attributed to Virginia by Wallace Gusler and Harold Gill, Jr., "Some Virginia Chairs: A Preliminary Study," *Antiques*, April, 1972, pp. 716-721.
6. For examples of carving extending from the knee onto the seat rail see John T. Kirk, *American Chairs, Queen Anne and Chippendale* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972). Figures 71, 76, and 144 illustrate examples from New York and Philadelphia.

7. For examples of figure-eight designs in splats, see Joseph Downs, *American Furniture, Queen Anne and Chippendale Periods* (New York: MacMillan, 1952). See Figure 70 for a New York example. See Kirk, *American Chairs*, Figure 219 for a North Carolina chair.
8. Joseph Hadfield, *An Englishman in America, 1785, Being a Diary of Joseph Hadfield*, ed. by D. S. Robertson (Toronto: Hunter-Rose, 1933), p. 13.
9. Kirk, *American Chairs*, Figures 86, 89, 151, 152, 206.
10. Chairs with Fredericksburg area histories which have arched under-rails as in Figure 5a are illustrated in Figures 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, and 11. Other examples can be seen in the MESDA research files 7081, 7082, 5982, 5908, 7450, 5722, and 5977. Wallace Gusler, in the exhibit, "Furniture of Eastern Virginia," Virginia Museum, Richmond, Virginia, March-April, 1978, attributes chairs with this feature to the Peter Scott shop of Williamsburg, Virginia.
11. A walnut side chair with the simplified heart-and-ribs splat has a history of having been owned by Mary Washington in Fredericksburg, Virginia. Its crest rail has a slight dip in the center yoke as in Figure 5, but its ears are more horizontally oriented than those on the Stansbury chair. Its design has been altered by having its legs cut down and rockers added, so it has not been included in the text of this article. MESDA research file 5930.
12. Chairs with Fredericksburg area histories with splats cut with a 45° bevel on the back are illustrated in Figures 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, and 9, and also in the MESDA research files 7081, 7082, 5982, 5908, and 7450.
13. The same treatment of the splat and crest rail seen on the Stansbury chair is found on a walnut arm chair at "Kenmore" in Fredericksburg, Virginia (Accession 11.K.5.29). The strongly curving arms on the chair are unshaped laterally like the Ficklen corner chair, while they have scrolled terminals very similar to those on the Boggs corner chair (Figures 2 and 3). It has a rounded-off seat rail, single molding on the shoe, and arched back rail. Its provenance is unknown, but it can be attributed to Fredericksburg because of its stylistic and construction similarities with other chairs in the area. MESDA research file 5910.
14. A walnut side chair with a tradition of having been owned by George Washington is at "Mount Vernon." It has a single shoe and arched back rail, and also gadrooning glued to the front rail. It has a 45° bevel on the splat back, shaped back feet, single peg construction, rounded-off seat rails, and a single molding on the shoe. Its claw-and-ball feet, acanthus carving with double overlapping fronds, and acanthus carving originating on the knee brackets make a stunning comparison with the Boggs corner chair and the Ferneyhough arm chair (Figures 3 and 6). For a discussion of the "Mount Vernon" chair, see Gusler and Gill, "Some Virginia Chairs," Figures 10-12.

15. On the "Shirley" arm chair, the shell and acanthus carving on the knees and the carved husks on the splat differ from the Ferneyhough and Spotswood chairs. Its ears have more pronounced volutes and do not have leaves like the Ferneyhough piece. The top edges of the seat rails are rounded off, and the shoe has a stepped molding that holds the splat and is comparable to that of Figure 8. The seat has horizontally grained poplar corner blocks held with wrought iron nails. MESDA research file 5722.
See also Gusler and Gill, "Some Virginia Chairs," Figures 3-4.
16. Other examples of notched arm rails on chairs with Fredericksburg histories are Figure 10, and MESDA research files 5929, 5927, 5977, 5422.
17. The crest rail of Figure 11 can be compared to a walnut armchair with a solid splat which descended in the Greene family of Fredericksburg. It has an arched one-piece shoe and back rail and its arms are notched into the back stiles. MESDA research file 7082. It should be noted that two Queen Anne side chairs with cabriole front legs, pad feet, and turned side and medial stretchers, and a tubular turned rear stretcher have histories in the Tayloe family of northern Tidewater Virginia, and both have the identical solid splat. MESDA research file 5422, and 6057. A walnut corner chair with cabriole legs (feet cut off) and a turned rear leg descended also in the Greene family of Fredericksburg and has the same Queen Anne splat. MESDA research file 7080.
18. The other chairs in this group are identical in design and construction to Figure 11. A chair with one original vertical rear glue block remaining descended in the Greene family of Fredericksburg and is marked "I." MESDA research file 7081. A chair descending in the Custis/Murdaugh families of Fredericksburg is marked "VI." MESDA research file 7450. A chair with two-part vertical grained glue blocks remaining on the front leg is marked "III" and has a history of ownership by the godmother of George Washington, Mildred W. Gregory, of Fredericksburg. MESDA research file 5908. The Thornton family chair of Figure 11 is marked "IV" and still retains two vertically grained front glue blocks.

I would like to express my appreciation to Frank L. Horton and Bradford L. Rauschenberg for sharing their knowledge and enthusiasm in identifying a Fredericksburg area school of chairmaking.

"Wm. & Geo. Richardson: Goldsmiths and Jewellers, Richmond, Virginia"

ELIZABETH TAYLOR CHILDS

Efforts of a MESDA field researcher, Christine D. Minter, led to the discovery of one of the very few American-made silver mounted swords, and one of the very rare ones which are marked. It demonstrates the fine craftsmanship of the Richardson brothers, Virginia silversmiths, and is on display at the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts.

According to family history, the sword, complete with breast plate,* scabbard, and baldric (Figs. 1a, 1b, 1c), descended from William Jones (1764-1847), a lawyer, a native of Gloucester County, Virginia, and Colonel of Militia, who served during the War of 1812.¹

As a partnership, two brothers, William and George Richardson, silversmiths by profession, shared in the early years of Richmond, Virginia's growth (Fig. 2). William (Fig. 3), serving as a captain, and George, as a major in the militia, combined their livelihood as craftsmen with active service in the city government. For a period of twenty years, citizens of Richmond and surrounding counties took advantage of the Richardsons' broad selection of wrought gold, silver, and plated ware.

*The engraved breast plate is not Richardson work. "7 USR" stands for the 7th United States Regiment which was formed at the time of the War of 1812.



Figure 1a. Silver-hilted sword, c.1790-1800. Ball pommel, untipped, with wire-wound grip with ferrule and semi-elliptical knuckleguard, together with black finished leather scabbard with silver mounts and baldric of same leather, this mounted with silver breast plate. Hilt with touch g, Figure 12. L 36 in. (91.4 cm.). MESDA, gift from Miss Sarah S. Rogers, Mrs. L. Dobbs Bellinger, Mrs. Vernet O. Stark, and Mrs. B. L. Williams in memory of their brother, Powell Burwell Rogers (1909-1976).²

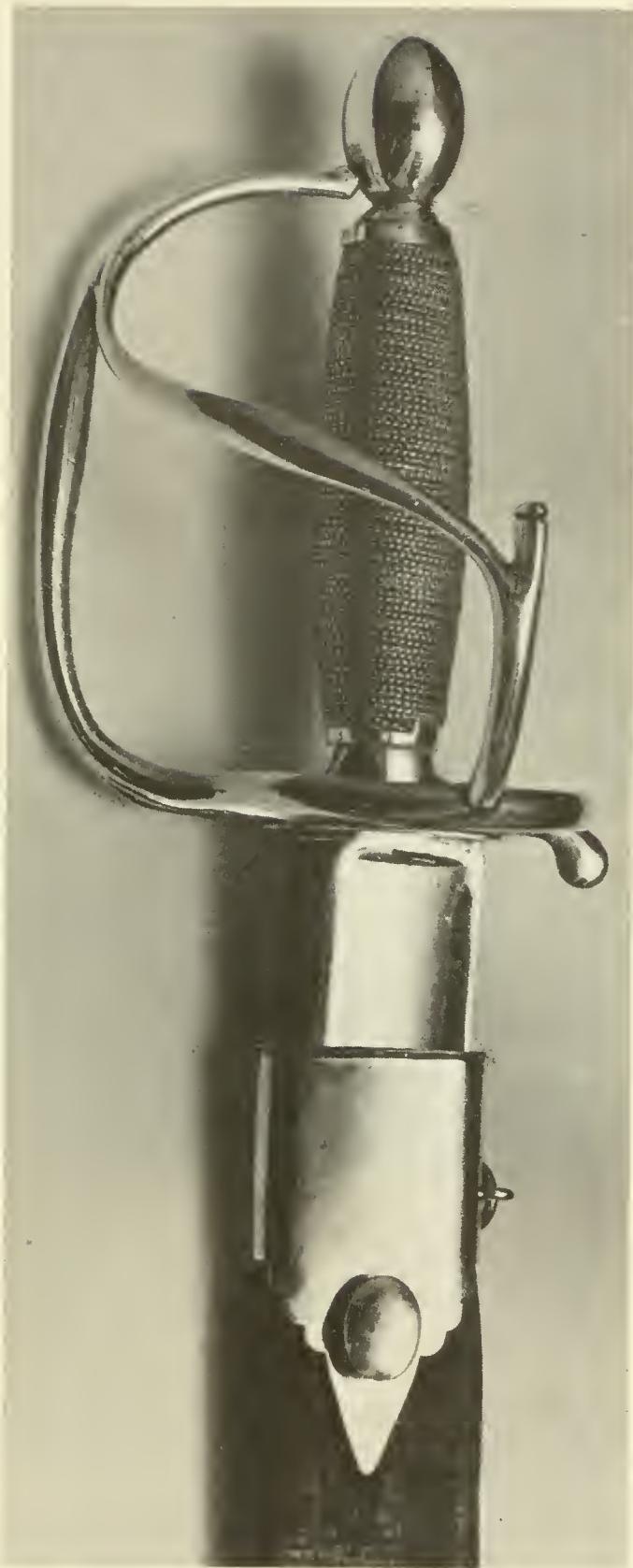


Figure 1b. Detail of hilt.

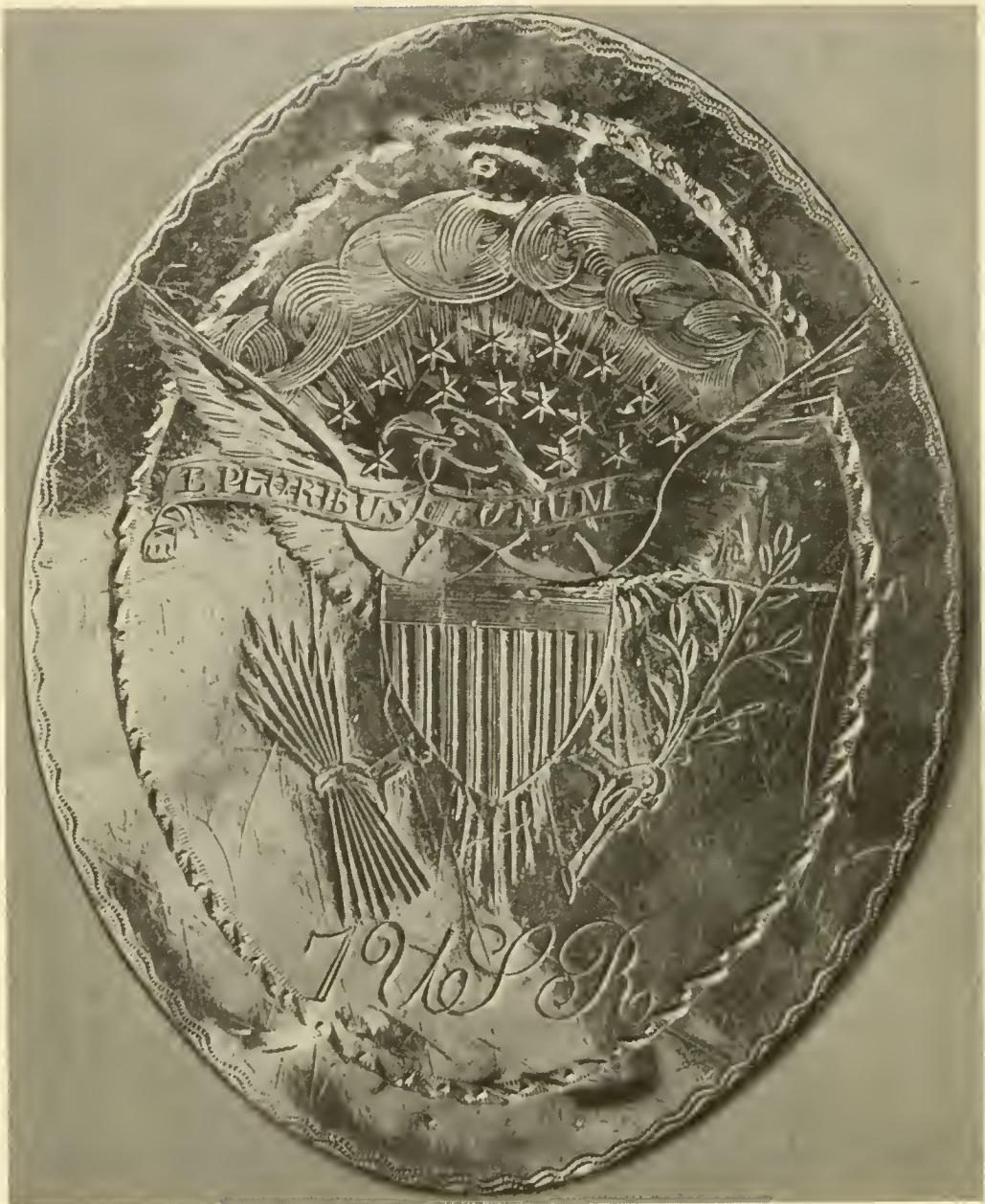


Figure 1c. Breast plate engraved with eagle and monogram "7 USR" for Seventh United States Regiment. Pounce work wavy rim. No touch mark. H 3 in. (7.6 cm.), W 2 1/4 in. (5.7 cm.).

According to family histories connected with silver attributed to these craftsmen, their patrons were from Richmond's wealthiest and most prominent families.

William, born in 1757, and George, born in 1761, were two of the four children of John Richardson, a joiner, and his wife, Abigail. In the 1782 enumeration of Richmond, two sisters are mentioned. Only one, Margaret, is finally identified

by name in William's will of February 1, 1809. She married Basil Wood, formerly of Bristol, England. Their children were Elizabeth, Layton, Alexander Hamilton, and Wallace.³

The 1782 census of Richmond also indicates that William owned Lot #87 and Lot #101 on the east side of Nineteenth Street, two slaves, three head of cattle, and two horses. One of these servants was Angelica Barnett, for in 1793 William witnessed publicly that Angelica had lived twelve to thirteen years since in his household.⁴

The Richardson brothers apparently were in partnership prior to 1782, since on April 11 of that year George advertised in *The Virginia Gazette or Weekly Advisor*:

Richmond, April 11, 1782

All persons having any demands against the partnership of William and George Richardson, of that place, are desired to apply immediately, that their accounts may be settled; and those indebted thereto, are requested to make a speedy payment, as the partnership is now dissolved, and the subscriber is desirous of settling his affairs before he leaves the country, which will be in two or three weeks.

GEORGE RICHARDSON

The first indication that the partnership had been renewed appeared on May 14, 1785, in *The Virginia Gazette or American Advertiser*. William and George Richardson acknowledged with gratitude the many favors they had received from the public and announced their continued work of high quality. They also advertised "dry goods for sale on the most reasonable terms, for Cash, Tobacco, or Warrants."

Their shop was located on part of Lot #333 leased from Jacob Valentine. William later purchased this portion in 1799.⁵ Lot #333 was at Fourteenth Street between Main and Cary in the Shockoe Hill area. In 1785, William paid five pounds towards a subscription fund for erecting the public buildings on Shockoe Hill.⁶ Throughout the years 1785-1807, the shop continued to be on Lot #333, but they purchased additional lots frequently: 1784 — Lot #20 at Twenty-first Street and Main; 1790 — Lot #62 at Twenty-first Street and Franklin; 1791 — Lots #35 and #49 at Twenty-first Street between Main and Franklin⁷ (Fig. 6).



Figure 2. "View of the City of Richmond from the South Side of the James River" by Benjamin Henry Latrobe (1764-1820). Watercolor, pencil, pen and ink: 1798. In this view of Richmond, its "Back streets" can be seen between the two trees at center of the drawing. The houses in the foreground are in part of the "Shockoe" area where the Richardsons had their shop. Courtesy of Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Maryland.

James Finlay, watchmaker from London, was occupying part of the Richardson shop in 1786.⁸ Finlay did repeating, horizontal, and plain work at the lowest terms. Just one year later, Henry Halewood, clockmaker and watchmaker, rented a part of the same shop and continued working there until 1790 when he left for Europe.⁹

Lawrence Sully, miniature painter, showed his works at their shop on September 26, 1792.¹⁰ Born in Ireland, Sully traveled the east coast, stopping in Charleston, South Carolina, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and Norfolk and Richmond, Virginia. He advertised himself as a student of the Royal Academy, London, and announced that he would paint miniatures at three guineas each for the ladies and gentlemen of Richmond.

Throughout the 1790s the Richardsons were prominent and influential citizens. William was one of the tradesmen responsible for petitioning the Bank of the United States to establish a local branch.¹¹ Citing the prosperity of business, the active port trade, and the good character of citizens, William



Figure 3. Portrait of Capt. William Richardson (1757-1809). Photograph taken by the Richmond photographer, George Cooke, in the late nineteenth century. Location of miniature from which this was taken has not been found. Valentine Museum, Richmond, Virginia.

did much to support the growth of the business community. In 1798, William was selected Captain of the newly organized Richmond Light Infantry Blues, and held this post until his death in 1809. He also served as Mayor of Richmond in 1801 and 1807, and was the Master of Police for the city's Common Council at the time of his death.¹² He represented Madison Ward as an alderman.

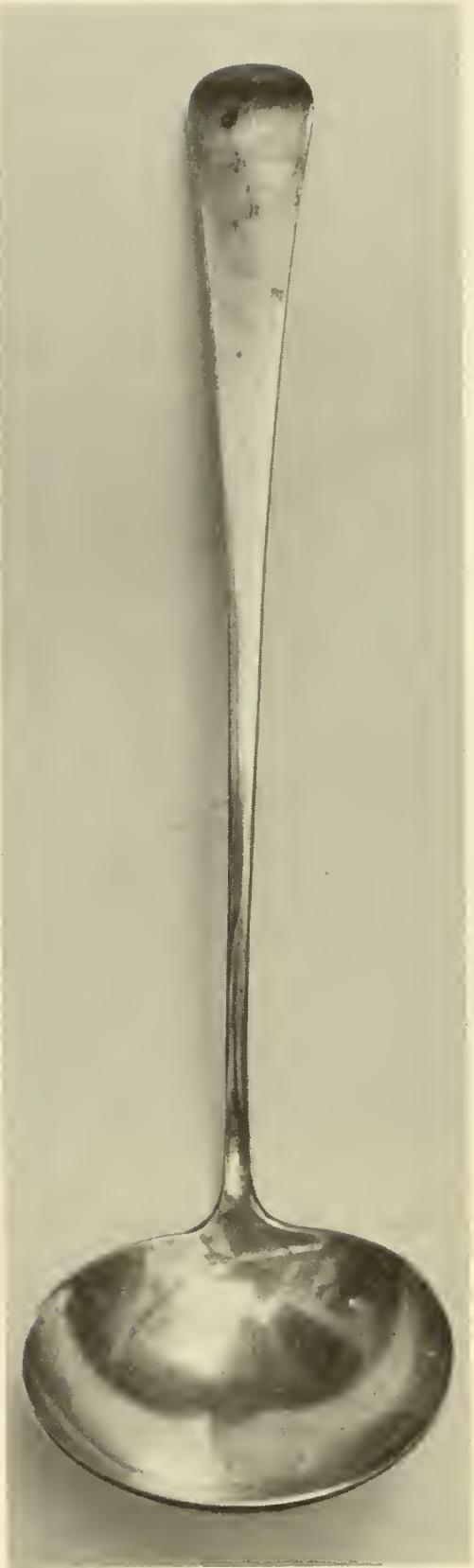


Figure 4a.

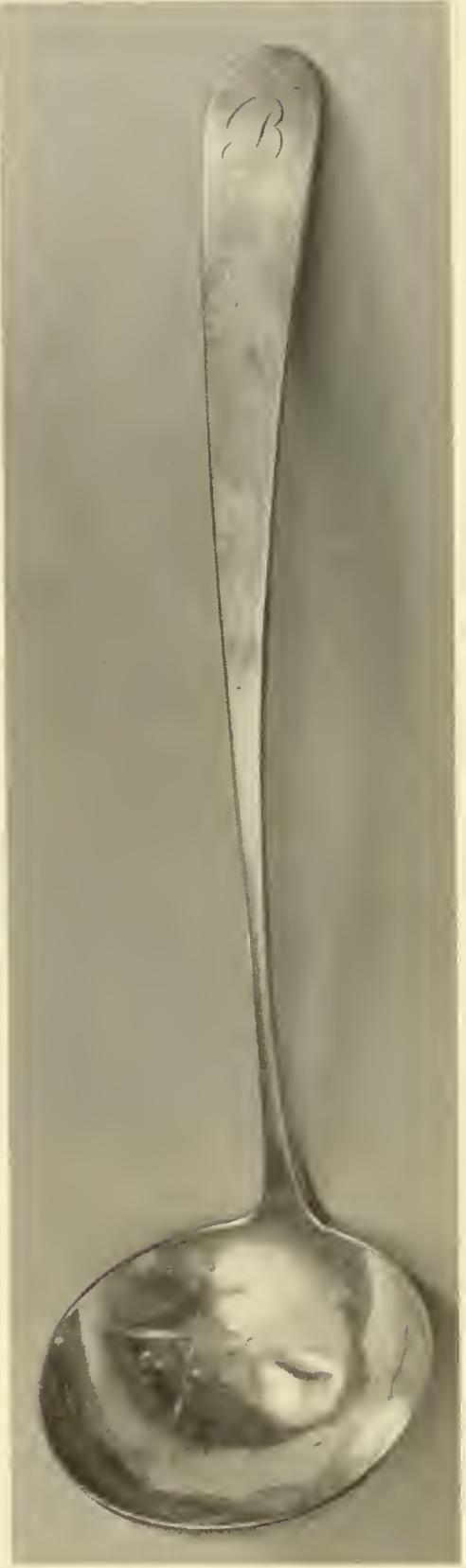


Figure 4b.



Figure 4c.

Figure 4a. Ladle, c.1782. Elliptical bowl, plain tapered down turned handle with rounded end. Descended in the Elzey family of Loudoun County, Virginia. Touch a, Figure 12. L 11 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (28.8 cm.). MESDA research file S-6751.

Figure 4b. Ladle, c.1785. Round bowl, with similar handle to Figure 4a. Engraved B. Descended in the Lineus Bolling family of Buckingham County, Virginia. Touch b. Figure 12. L 14 in. (35.5 cm.). MESDA research file S-7480.

Figure 4c. Ladle, c.1795. Round bowl, with similar handle to Figures 4a and 4b, except tip slightly more pointed. Descended in the Cohen family of Petersburg, Virginia. Touch g, Figure 12. L 13 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (33.6 cm.). Courtesy of Virginia Museum of Fine Arts.

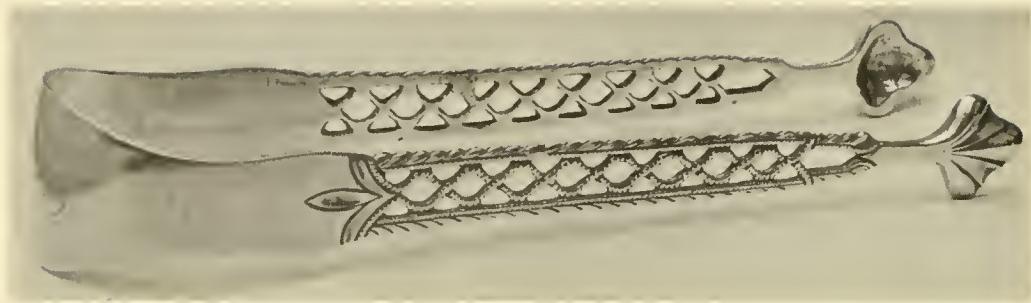


Figure 5. Sugar tongs, c.1785-90. Bow type, pierced shanks with trifid grips. Engraved DAM on front of handle for Ann Anderson and Dabney Minor, married in 1773. Dabney Minor, born in 1749 at "Gale Hill," Spotsylvania County, Virginia, lived with his bride at "Woodlawn" in Orange County, Virginia. Touch d, Figure 12. Rectangle with separate eagle touch (frog leg type). L 6½ in. (16.5 cm.). MESDA research file S-5763.

William and George Richardson were men of some prosperity. Newspaper and county records list property in Richmond and the counties of Bath, Goochland, and Hanover, where they frequently purchased, sold, and traded land. Both were tax-payers in St. Paul's Parish, Hanover County. As early as 1782, William was paying taxes on ten slaves, four horses, and twelve head of cattle. His estate still owned land there in 1812, when it was taxed on three horses, two head of cattle, but no slaves.¹³ George paid taxes from 1797 until his death in 1805. He owned only two slaves, five horses, and four head of cattle.¹⁴ Unlike William, who never married, George perhaps had to spend considerable amounts of money to support his family. Although George's marriage date and his wife's name are unknown, his children—George, Fanny, John, Nathaniel, Charles, and William, Jr.—are mentioned in William's will.¹⁵

William and George advertised extensively in the newspapers. A typical advertisement appeared in the *Virginia Gazette & Richmond & Manchester Advertiser*, Richmond, Virginia, October 14, 1793:

Wm. & Geo. Richardson,
GOLDSMITHS and JEWELLERS,
RICHMOND,

With gratitude acknowledge the many favors they
have received from their countrymen and others, in
the line of their business, and beg leave to inform them,

that they have now on hand *a great Variety of ELEGANT WROUGHT GOLD, SILVER AND PLATED WARE,*

Among which are

ELEGANT bracelets	IN GOLD	Silver and plated Castors
Locket		Coffee Pots
Neck Clasps		Tea Pots
Plain and sett Buttons		Cream Pots
Breast Pins and Broaches		Tea Urns
Bracelet Buckles		Tea Caddies and Canisters
Ear Rings		Large Candlesticks
Stock Buckles		Bracket and Chamber ditto
Seals		Snuffers and Stands
Silver Table Spoons		Goblets
Tea, Desert, & Salt ditto		Tumblers and Beakers
Soup and Punch Ladles		Butter Boats
Sugar Dishes & Tongs		Dish Stands
Silver Thimbles		Waiters
Silver Pencil Cases		Cream Buckets
Lancet ditto		Bottle Sliders
Scissars in ditto		Fish and Pudding Knives
		Inkstands, &c. &c.

They are selling the above articles on the most reasonable terms, and continue as usual to manufacture every article in their way.

Mourning Rings and Locket, with all kinds of *Enameling* and *Hair Devices* executed in the most elegant manner, and the highest prices given for *Old Gold* and *Silver*.

The Calendar of Virginia State Papers and Other Manuscripts, 1652-1869, December 3, 1794, makes note: "Purchased of the Honorable John Dawson and Hardin Burnley, Esqrs., one mace weighing one hundred and one ounces at six shillings per ounce. William and George Richardson." A month previously on November 17, 1794, the Virginia House of Delegates resolved to sell their Mace. The proceeds of the sale were to be deposited in the public Treasury. The sale is also confirmed by a receipt showing that the first purchaser of the mace

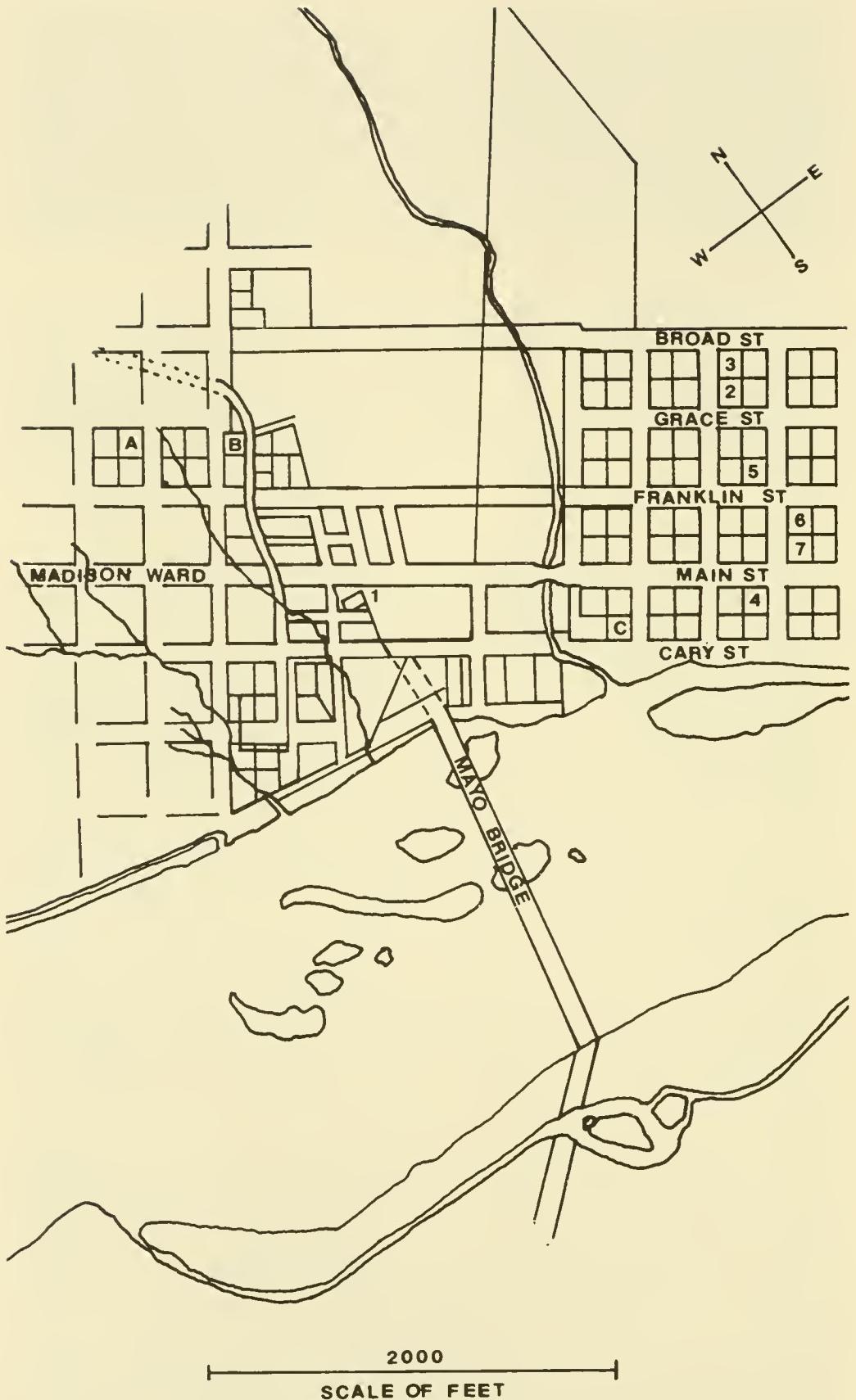


Figure 6.



Figure 7. Trencher salts, c.1785. Plain oval body with molded rim; four cast, pad feet on tapered incurved legs. Engraved script "R" for the Randolph family of Curles Neck, Virginia. Glass lining missing. Touch e, Figure 12. OH 5/16 in. (5.0 cm.). Courtesy of Virginia Museum of Fine Arts.

Note: There are six more known trencher salts of this exact type. Two are in a private Richmond collection and the other four are owned by the Patrick Henry Foundation at "Red Hill." These supposedly were owned by Patrick Henry and are engraved with his initials in script.

was two Richmond merchants named Richardson.¹⁶ This acquisition must have been a great source of pride to the Richardson brothers. Not many merchants had the privilege of buying "the Mace."

Some conception of the importance of the Richardson name can be gleaned from the fact that *The Newbern Gazette* of North Carolina, two hundred miles away, reported a fire in the shop of Messrs. Richardson on November 22, 1798. The announcement noted that the Richardsons were able to preserve their stock of "jewellery."

Figure 6. Map of The City of Richmond from a plan by Richard Young, c. 1810. 1. Richardson shop, Lot 333, 1799. 2. Lot 87, 1782. 3. Lot 101, 1782. 4. Lot 20, 1784. 5. Lot 62, 1790, 6. Lot 49, 1791. 7. Lot 35, 1791. A. Capitol of Virginia. B. Governor's house.



Figure 8. Cup, 1795-1800. Flared body with no decoration. Engraved "Presented by Is. I. Cohen of Richmond to M. Levy/Allul 5561." Israel I. Cohen (died 1803/4), a Jewish merchant, had his shop near the Richardsons'. Cohen moved to Baltimore and became an even wealthier man. He presented this cup to his friend M. Levy, of Baltimore. Touch e, Figure 12. H 1 3/4 in. (4.5 cm.). Courtesy of Baltimore Museum of Art. Gift of Mrs. Miles White, Jr.

Major George Richardson died on October 11, 1805, at his residence at Turkey Hill, an area of Hanover County, Virginia.¹⁷ William continued his trade until his death on Sunday, June 11, 1809.¹⁸ Just prior to his death, his shop and dwelling were probably moved to Lot #62, from Lot #333. On January 4, 1808, William Cowan, a silversmith and watch-

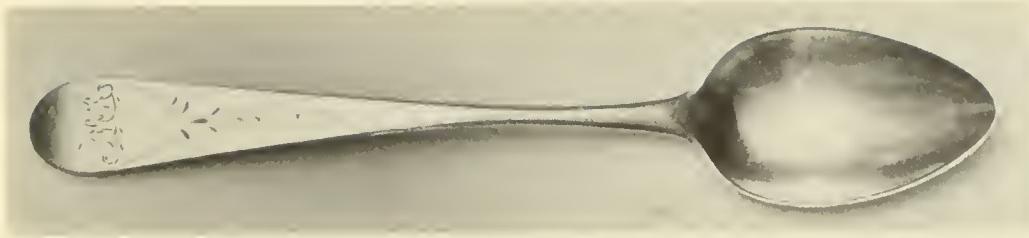


Figure 9. Spoon, c.1785-90. Slender ovoid bowl with down turned handle. Simple rounded single drop. Bright-cut decoration with script "MM." Touch f, Figure 12. L Approximately 5½ in. (13.9 cm.). MESDA research file S-6381.

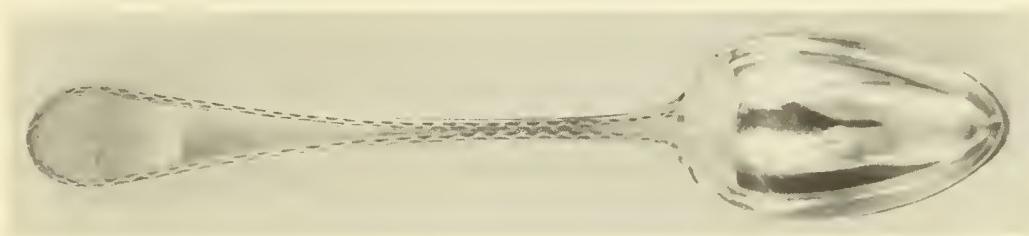


Figure 10. Spoon, c.1785-90. Slender ovoid bowl with down turned handle. Bright-cut border with script "LM" for Jean Pierre Le Mayer. Le Mayer, in America from 1781-1789, was one of George Washington's dentists. Touch g, Figure 12. L 9 in. (22.8 cm.). Courtesy of Virginia Historical Society.

maker, advertised that he had moved to the stand previously occupied by Captain William Richardson.¹⁹

William willed to his sister, Margaret Wood, the use of Lot #62 with the dwellings and offices during her lifetime. At Margaret's death, the lot, houses, and furnishings were to go to his niece, Elizabeth Wood, daughter of Margaret. If Elizabeth inherited her child's fortune from her grandfather Wood, she forfeited her rights. Lot #62, houses, and furnishings went then to his brother George's children to be divided equally.²⁰

William freed his Negro manservant, John Redwood. He further directed that the lot and houses located on Main Street with the remainder of his slaves be sold under the following terms: one fourth cash; the remainder in equal payments at six, twelve, and eighteen months.²¹

The provisions of his will were carried out, for in July and December of that year two sales of William Richardson's possessions were advertised:

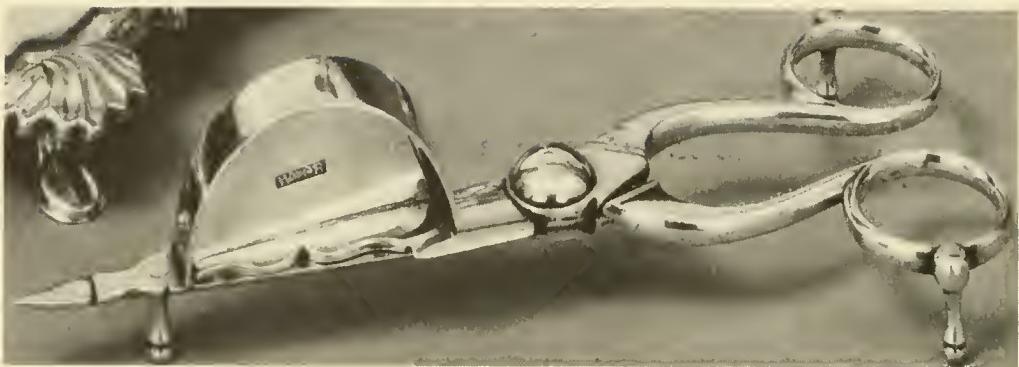


Figure 11. Snuffer, c.1785. Scissor shaped. Box and plate on opposite blades. Pointed end for uncurling the burnt wick before cutting it, and also used for jabbing the candle stub out of the nozzle. Thought to have descended in the Lightfoot, Minge, and Bolling families, Charles City, Virginia. Touch g, Figure 12. Courtesy of Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

SALE AT AUCTION: On Wednesday the 19th inst. will be sold without reserve, at the office of the subscribers, the following property, belonging to the estate of Capt. William Richardson, decd. — A young Negro Man, a good silversmith — a very smart Mulatto Boy, about twelve years old — an old Negro Woman, a good plain cook — a quantity of Silversmith's Tools and Sweepings. Terms of Sale — One fourth cash — The remainder in equal payments at 6, 12, and 18 months. Bonds with approved security and with interest from the day of sale will be required. By order of the executor.

FOSTER & SATCHELL, Auct'rs.

July 14th, 1809

N.B. Among the jewellery belonging to the deceased, there are some articles supposed to have been left with him for repair. These the owners may receive upon application to the subscribers and proving their property.

FOSTER & SATCHELL²²

SALE AT AUCTION

On Wednesday, the 13th instant, will be sold, without reserve, at the office of the subscribers, a variety of

Jewellery, Medals, and old Gold and Silver, belonging to the estate of Capt. William Richardson, dec'd.— Also a quantity of Silversmith's Sweepings, to be seen any day previous to the sale at Mr. Cowan's— Terms made known on the day of sale. By Order of the Executor,

FOSTER & SATCHELL, Auct'rs.

December 9.

All persons having left articles for repair with the late Captain William Richardson, are requested to call on the subscribers before the day of sale.

Foster & Satchell²³

Today, long after the sale of the tools and silversmith sweepings (waste silver) from the Richardsons' shop in 1809, examples of their work are represented in museums and in private collections. Pieces of flatware (Figs. 9, 10) and holloware illustrate the simplicity of design and fine quality of craftsmanship of William and George Richardson, Richmond, Virginia, silversmiths (Fig. 11).

The three ladles, (Figs. 4a, 4b, 4c) with three different marks illustrate the difficulty of dating Richardson silver by style alone. It is my opinion, after comparing style elements and provenance, that William Richardson used his individual WR touch in its various forms throughout his career, even during the years of partnership with George.

The various touchmarks are illustrated in consecutive order from the earliest known to the latest one identified (Figs. 12a through 12g).

Figures 12a through 12g. Richardson touch marks.



Figure 12a.



Figure 12b.



Figure 12c.



Figure 12d.



Figure 12e.



Figure 12f.

Figure 12g.

NOTES

1. William Jones read law under his brother-in-law, John Catlett. He married first Charity Buckner of Gloucester County, and second her cousin, Mrs. Eliza Cook.
2. Powell Burwell Rogers was a professor of English. He taught most recently at the University of Pennsylvania and the University of Hawaii.
3. Richmond *Deeds*, 5, p. 437.
4. *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, 6, p. 344.
5. Richmond *Deeds*, 3, p. 405.
6. *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, 4, p. 64.
7. Richmond *Deeds*, 3, p. 249; 1, p. 578; 2, p. 178.
8. *The Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, Richmond, Virginia, January 26, 1786.
9. *The Virginia Independent Chronicle*, Richmond, Virginia, October 1, 1788. *The Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, Richmond, Virginia, May 20, 1790.
10. *The Virginia Gazette and General Advertiser*, Richmond, Virginia, September 26, 1792.
11. *Virginia Magazine of History*, Vol. 8, p. 294.
12. *Virginia Argus*, Richmond, Virginia, August 14, 1801. *Enquirer*, Richmond, Virginia, April 24, 1807, and June 13, 1809.
13. *Hanover County Taxpayers, Saint Paul's Parish*, 1782-1815, p. 106.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 105.
15. William Richardson, Jr., advertised himself as a watchmaker. His shop was on the south side of Main Street six doors below Market Bridge. In 1815, he was married to Harriet R. Hallam, daughter of Edmund and Mary Hallam of Richmond. In 1857, Harriet resided in the city of New York, having moved there after her husband's death. She moved to New York City to be with her sister, Mrs. King, and her husband. Harriet listed her children and their location as: 1. Mary D. Richardson, New York State; 2. Susan B., wife of William R. Donaghe of New York City; 3. George N. Richardson of Staten Island, New York; 4. John H. Richardson of Berrien County, Michigan; 5. D. Walker Richardson of New Haven County, Connecticut; 6. Edmund H. Richardson of Siskiyou County, California; 7. William D. Richardson, dec'd, left issue in the State of Minnesota. *Hanover County Chancery Wills and Notes*, p. 120.
16. "The Mace of the Virginia House of Burgesses," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 19, July 1911.
17. *Enquirer*, Richmond, Virginia, October 18, 1805.
18. *Ibid.*, June 13, 1809.
19. *Virginia Argus*, Richmond, Virginia, January 5, 1808.
20. Richmond *Deeds*, 5, pp. 437-438.
21. *Ibid.*
22. *Virginia Argus*, Richmond, Virginia, July 18, 1809.
23. *Enquirer*, Richmond, Virginia, December 9, 1809.

Elizabeth Taylor Childs is Curator of Collections, Valentine Museum, Richmond, Virginia. She participated in the Winterthur Summer Institute. Her special interest is in eighteenth and nineteenth century southern decorative arts.

*"B. DuVal & Co/Richmond":
A Newly Discovered Pottery*

BRADFORD L. RAUSCHENBERG

With the fortunate discovery of one of the earliest marked examples of southern salt-glazed stoneware, the production of a little known pottery in Richmond, Virginia, can now be recognized.¹ Were it not for the impressed stamp "B. DuVal & Co/Richmond," one could easily attribute the jug (Fig. 1) to a New York pottery.

The shape of the body, neck, lip, and handles definitely reflects a New York influence. The handles are typical of late eighteenth, early nineteenth century Boston or New York examples with round cross section, free standing attitude, and cobalt ringing at the body junction.² This handle shape is unusual in the South and is emphasized by the bent inclined posture, almost touching the body. This could be a survival design, since round handles, if outward sweeping, could be more easily broken during use. A first interpretation of this handle form might be that a firing accident caused the sagging of the handles were it not for identical ones on marked New York examples.³ The jug demonstrates a well made three-gallon storage vessel of dense, fine paste, salt-glazed with light surface "pitting." The technique of incising the outline of a design, then filling the space with cobalt is common to New York examples.⁴ The DuVal example, however, exhibits a lack of surface decoration, producing a stark but pleasing shape. Below the neck and on line with the handle-to-body junction



Figure 1. Saltglazed stoneware three-gallon jug, impressed "B. DuVal & Co/Richmond," cobalt decorated at base of handles and in impressed stamp. Height 15½ inches, width 12 inches, width at mouth 5¾ inches, and width of base 6⅓/₈ inches. Gift of Mrs. Robert Hopper. Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts, acquisition 2950.

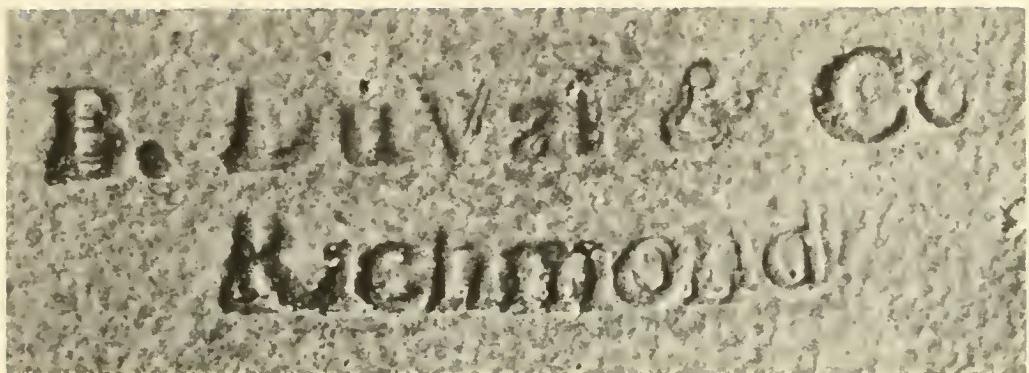


Figure 2. Detail of impressed mark, cobalt filled. Height $\frac{1}{2}$ inch, length $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

is the impressed stamp of "B. DuVal & Co/Richmond" (Fig. 2). This technique of impressing with type-like letters is occasionally found in the South.⁵ On this example, the name has been carefully impressed, as only the letters are seen, not the pad supporting the letters, as so often happens in marking. As no other examples of this pottery are known, variation in marks cannot be determined. The impressed letters are filled or "rubbed" with cobalt to emphasize the letters of the stamp only. This technique is one also seen in New York.⁶ Evidence of kiln scars or adhesion points, inadvertently produced during firing by contact with another object, can be seen near its base; a prop or solid roll of clay was placed against it for stabilization of the kiln load during firing.

In an attempt to locate the site, one must search through documents for the identity of B. DuVal. The jug was discovered in Petersburg, Virginia. The first research effort in Richmond, Virginia, proved fruitful.

Fortunately, the DuVal name is still known in Richmond as a major street and among descendants of the Huguenot, Daniel DuVal I.⁷ In 1701 he arrived via the York River and settled in Gloucester County, Virginia, as an architect and joiner.⁸ From the marriage of Daniel were five children, one of whom was Benjamin (-1770).⁹ After the marriage of Benjamin and Ann Kay, the couple moved up the James River into Henrico County, which is in the Richmond, Virginia area.¹⁰ Of their eight offspring, the youngest son, Benjamin, Jr. (1765-1826), was but five years old when Benjamin, Sr. died in 1770.

Upon the death of his father, Benjamin DuVal, Jr. was placed under the guardianship of an uncle, Major William

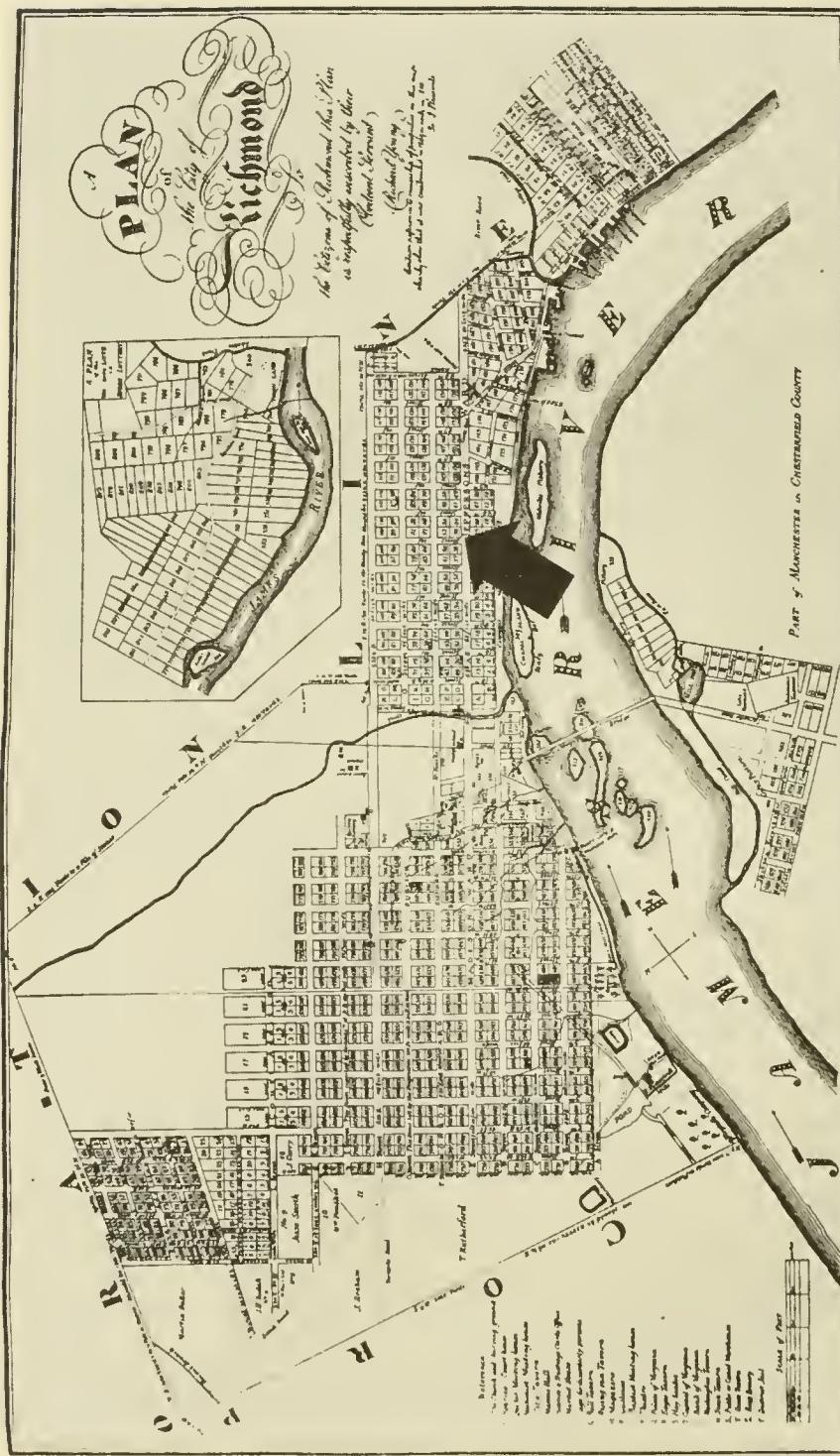


Figure 3a. *A Plan of the City of Richmond, Richard Young (c. 1809-1810). Arrow indicates location of pottery. Courtesy Virginia State Library.*

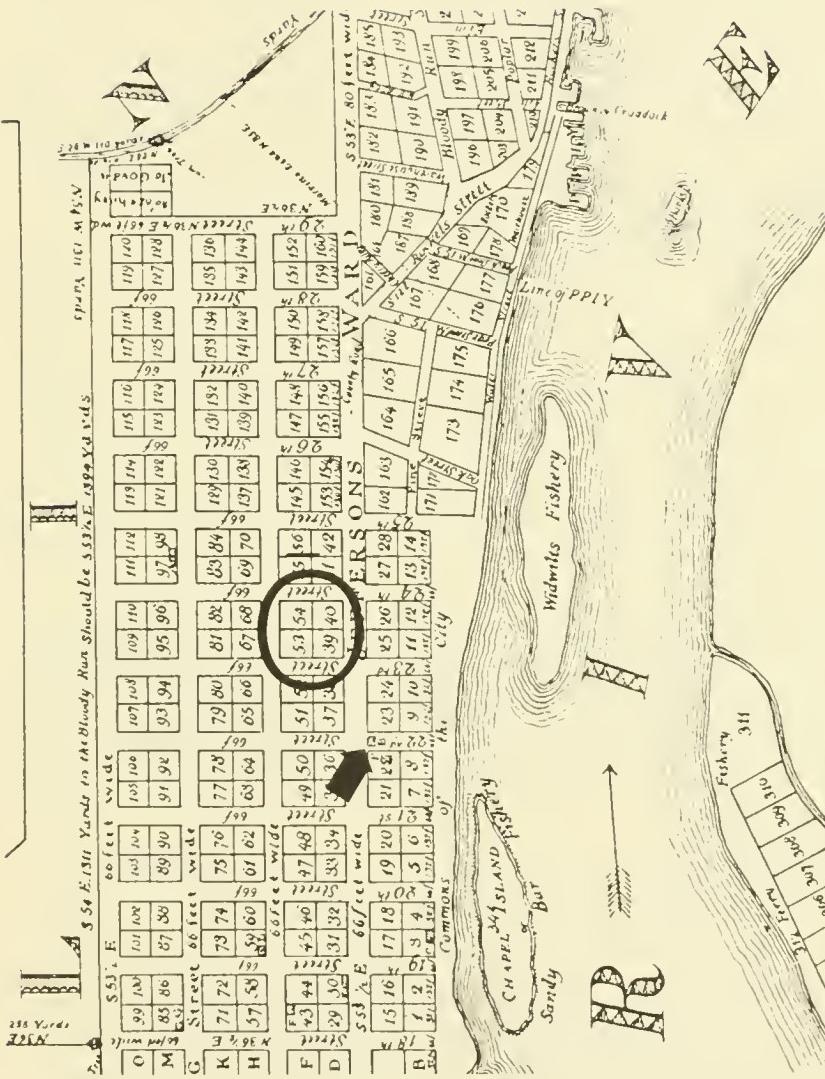


Figure 3b. Enlarged portion of Young map. Circle indicates pottery block and lots 39, 40, 53, and 54. Arrow indicates Henrico County and Richmond City Court House referred to in the 1817 advertisement. (See text, p. 61).

DuVal, an attorney in Richmond.¹¹ The first record of Benjamin DuVal, Jr. as an adult was his marriage, April 4, 1785, to Elizabeth Warrick (Warrock).¹² During his years as a youth, Benjamin, Jr. undoubtedly spent some time around the coal mines in Henrico County, owned by another uncle, Samuel DuVal. This connection is made because within five months after his marriage, Benjamin is recorded in the newspapers as working the coal mines in Henrico County, recently the property of Samuel DuVal, deceased.¹³

In 1789 Benjamin is recorded as attempting to sell a house he owned in Richmond along with articles of furniture and other household goods.¹⁴ That this was the house he and Elizabeth lived in is not clear, as a David Lambert was listed as its former proprietor.

The first indication of Benjamin's profession was in 1790 as an apothecary, selling "miracle cures for assorted diseases." Further and more extensive drug advertisements appear as the years pass. One announcement in the Fredericksburg, Virginia, paper of 1798 gives evidence that his business was prospering and that the medicines sold at the sign of the Golden Mortar in Richmond were becoming known throughout the commonwealth.¹⁶

Benjamin DuVal was to express many and varied interests apart from the drug business. The name of his plantation, "Experiment," reflected his enterprising nature and, perhaps more directly, his business.¹⁷ In 1804 and 1805, Benjamin is recorded as the president of the Mutual Assurance Society with offices in Richmond.¹⁸

The first indication of interest in the ceramic industry is an advertisement in 1791:

A POTTER who understands working at the wheel, will meet with employment and liberal wages, by applying to Benjamin DuVal, or Thomas Warren, of the city of Richmond.¹⁹

The response to this advertisement is unknown, and no other indication of an attempt to start a business in potting is found during this early period.

As early as 1803, there begins a chain of evidence of Benjamin DuVal's development of four lots (39, 40, 53, and 54), within the Richmond city block bounded today by 23rd,

Franklin, 24th, and Main Streets (Figs. 3a, 3b, and 4). Insurance records of 1803 list four different dwellings on the Main Street side of the block, lot 40. All are listed as tenements, but only one as occupied, possibly indicating that construction was in the finishing stages.²⁰ In mid-1805 he again purchased four insurance policies on these dwellings, listing three as occupied and one as vacant.²¹ The same year he insured two buildings, also in the same block, lot 53, each occupied, and of brick construction, these facing on F (now Franklin) Street.²² It is apparent that the land in question comprised lots 39, 40, 53, and 54 on the block bounded as shown on Richard Young's 1809-10 map (Figs. 3a, 3b). These lots are of particular interest to this study.

Evidently Benjamin DuVal's association with the assurance company and the ever-present danger of fire and wooden roofs precipitated the 1808 formation of the

Richmond Tile Manufactory.

THE subscriber having procured the exclusive right to manufacture in this and several other states, Harwood's much improved patent tile for covering houses, and at considerable expense erected the necessary buildings, &c. for carrying on that useful business extensively, now offers to supply, at a short notice, any quantity that may be required, at the modest price of thirty-five dollars per thousand, deliverable at his factory.

He can with confidence, founded on actual experience in the actual covering of about 20 houses in this city, assert that houses can be covered with this tile as cheap, in the first instance, as with shingles of the first quality, and when the security against fire, the differences of insurance, the durability and particular construction of those tiles to resist the most penetrating rains and snows are considered, he cannot doubt of meeting with considerable encouragement.

It requires only the examination of a well covered roof to convince the most prejudiced mind of their superiority to any other tile heretofore made, or to the best of slate, and will cost less than the latter, after paying the

expence of water carriage to almost any part of this continent.

Particular Attention will be paid to orders from other towns, and in all cases where they are shipped, he will deliver them whole and sound, along side the vessels, at the expence of cartage only to the purchaser. Any person skilled in the art of tiling, will put on these tile with great facility, but where they cannot be procured he can engage a few here who have had experience, and will go a moderate distance, if the job is of sufficient magnitude and their travelling expences paid.

BENJAMIN DUVAL

Richmond, March 19, 1808.

N. B. I wish to sell patent rights in several other states.

B. D.²⁴

Figure 4. Conceptual plan of building placement on lots 39, 40, 53, and 54 insured by Benjamin DuVal from 1803 to 1822 as gleaned from Mutual Assurance Society policies.

A-D (lot 40). Four contiguous dwellings two stories (16 x 28 feet) insured from 1803-1822, each with a back kitchen, tile roof, thirty-two feet from the dwelling. In addition to the kitchens with tile roofs, the 1816 and 1822 policies list three other close buildings with tile roofs.

E-F (lot 53). Two contiguous dwellings, two stories (18 x 16 feet) insured from 1805-1816.

G-L (lot 39). G. Three-story dwelling (30 x 26 feet) insured from 1813-1822 (1817-1822 listed as Indian Queen Tavern).

H. Kitchen, one story (16 x 20 feet) insured from 1813-1822.

I. Shed (12 x ? feet), one story insured from 1813-1822 (1816, listed as Painter's Room).

J-L. Three dwellings two stories (17 x 16 feet) insured from 1816-1822.

M. (lot 40). A "brick Warehouse" listed on an 1816 policy, not insured and no dimensions.

N. (lot 39). An addition (dwelling) to "G" insured from 1817-1822 (16 x ? feet), more than one story.

O. (lot 39). A stable covered with tile, one story (48 x 48 feet) and insured from 1817-1822.

Lot 54 probably is the site of the pottery; Benjamin owned this lot from 1804-1818, when he divided the lot. No buildings were insured on this lot by Benjamin. The arrow indicates the location of surface-collected kiln waster material.

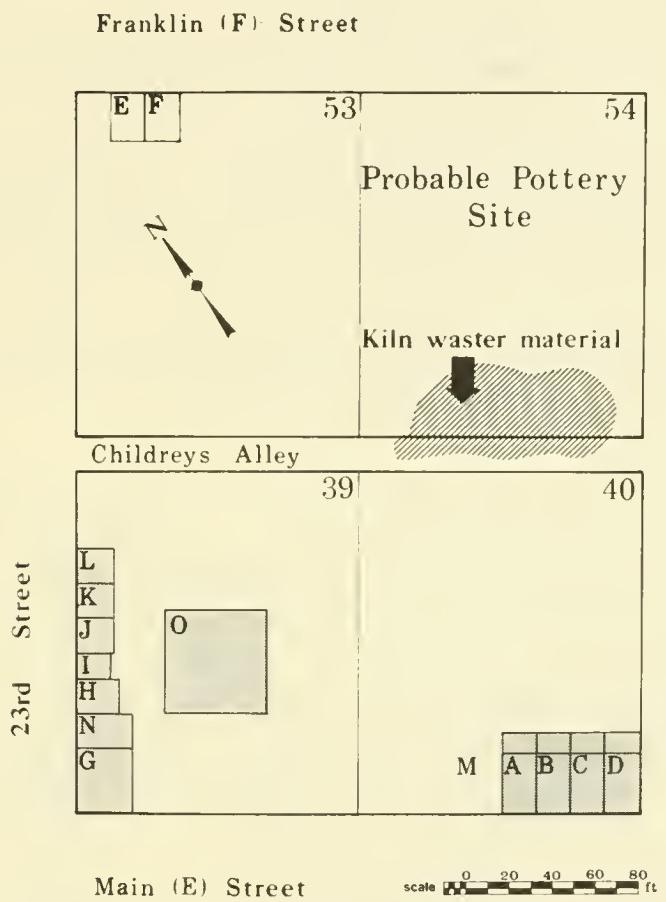


Figure 4.

From this advertisement it is also apparent that Benjamin DuVal was still very much interested in clay products. By this time he probably had established the Richmond Tile Manufactory in town and on the square between 23rd and 24th Streets and north of Main Street. The buildings listed from 1803 to 1805 in the assurance records were possibly housing for the workers. The kiln or kilns and adjacent buildings were probably not insured because of the high fire risk and the attending high premium rates. Only dwellings were listed at this date (Fig. 4).

With the tile manufactory opening in 1808 and success undoubtedly providing other possibilities, an advertisement in 1811 announced the opening of the

RICHMOND STONE WARE MANUFACTORY.

BENJAMIN DU-VAL, & Co. have commenced a *STONE WARE MANUFACTORY*, at DuVal's Tile Manufactory, with materials which they think superior to any heretofore used in the U. States. The drawing of their First Kiln, justifies this opinion and convinces them, that they can sell on better terms to the buyer, than any Manufactory on the Continent.

August 9.²⁵

This 1811 advertisement of a true pottery may indicate the culmination of plans which began with his 1791 advertisement for a potter. The firm name of "Benjamin Du-Val & Co." is now associated with the jug. It is important to note that the tile and pottery manufactories were at the same location. In 1812, another advertisement was published illustrating the continued production of stoneware and that the Du-Val apothecary store was an outlet for the ware.

RICHMOND STONE WARE — Benjamin Du-Val & Son, at the sign of the Golden Mortar, Richmond, have on hand a large assortment of *STONE WARE*, of superior quality, manufactured in this place by *B. Duval & Co.*, which they will sell at the New-York wholesale prices.

Orders for the above or application made at their Medicine Store, will be strictly attended to.

They have also for sale, as above, a very extensive assortment of drugs, Medicines, Dye Stuffs, Paints, Oil, &c. of genuine quality and on moderate terms.

Sept. 1.²⁶

Of particular interest in this 1812 advertisement is the notation of "B. DuVal & Co." just as it appears on the jug (Fig. 2). Also by now it is apparent that Benjamin DuVal is not a potter but an entrepreneur, probably with several potters

working under a superintendent. The business structure never surfaces, but it is obvious what must have taken place. However, referring to the jug under discussion, the 1811 advertisement of the "drawing of their First Kiln" undoubtedly establishes a *terminus post quem*, or the earliest date possible. This assumes that the 1791 probe was unsuccessful. In all conscience, one can say that 1811 is the earliest date possible for the jug.

Evidently success was great, for in 1814 Benjamin DuVal enumerates his products as a firm of high production.

STONE WARE.
THE SUBSCRIBER HAS ON HAND AT HIS
MANUFACTORY:

A Large quantity of STONE WARE, well assorted — and is carrying on the business on a scale sufficiently extensive to supply all orders that may come to hand, at the following prices viz:

5	Gallon Jugs and Pots, per doz.		\$10.00
4	Ditto Ditto Ditto		8.50
3	Ditto Ditto Ditto		6.50
2	Ditto Ditto Ditto		4.75
2	Ditto Pitchers Ditto		5.00
1	Ditto Jugs & Pots Ditto		3.25
1	Ditto Pitchers Ditto		3.50
1/2	Ditto Jugs & Pots Ditto		2.12 1/2
1/2	Ditto Pitchers Ditto		2.25
3	Pint Bottles Ditto		1.50
1	Quart Ditto Ditto		1.12 1/2
1	Ditto Jugs & Pitchers Ditto		1.12 1/2
1	Tickler (pocket flasks) Ditto		1.00
	Chamber pots Ditto		2.12 1/2
4	Gallon Churns Ditto		12.00
3	Ditto Ditto		10.00
2	Ditto Ditto		8.00
	Milk Pans Ditto 2.50		4.50
	Ink Stands Ditto		1.00

A very liberal deduction will be made from the above prices to any person who will take to the amount of

5 or 600 dollars and the ware will be delivered to the purchasers in any part of the city.

Orders left with Mr. James Brown, jr. Messrs. Moncure, Robinson & Pleasants, Messrs. Murphy & Scott, Messrs. W. J. & Roscoe Cole, Philip Duval, jr. & Co. or at the Manufactory, will be duly attended to, and the greatest attention paid to selecting and packing.

BENJAMIN DU VAL.

N. B. From Mr. Otis's advertisement, it might appear to my customers, that he had the sole agency for the sale of Stone Ware made at my manufactory, but he is agent only for the sale of Mr. John P. Schermerhorn's part, who is concerned in one of my shops.²⁷

With this advertisement it is seen that several locations for placing orders are listed and that possibly some of these places are handling his stoneware.²⁸ In the 1812 notice, this could be effected only at the apothecary or the pottery itself.

Fortunately, with this advertisement a potter is listed for the first time by name—John P. Schermerhorn. This potter is possibly the source for the New York design of the jug. That Schermerhorn is actually a potter is hinted at in the end of the advertisement and is further implied in an interesting, probably sarcastic, exchange.

A CARD.

John P. Sche{r}merhorn presents his thanks to Dr. B. Duval for informing the public that he is interested in "only one of his shops" employed in the manufactory of Stone Ware. The information must have been *highly interesting* and from the *liberal* and *gentlemanly* disposition evinced by the procedure is *particularly grateful* to the feeling of Mr. Schermerhorn, who feels it is his duty not to withhold this public expression of gratitude.²⁹

Further proof that Schermerhorn was a potter is found in the records of the 1820 census of manufacturers in Virginia. Henrico County lists include him as producing "stone ware

of all kinds."³⁰ Also, in 1820 an advertisement in the *Richmond Compiler* gives notice of his selling stoneware with Richmond outlets and at his pottery at "Port Mayo, near Rockets." The Schermerhorn name is well connected with New York, since there is a city street by that name, and family descendants live there even today.³¹ No other Schermerhorns have been found in Virginia prior to 1814. However, in Richmond the name still occurs.

Also of interest is the mention of "one of my shops" in the two notices above, implying that DuVal had several pottery shops at the "Richmond Stone Ware Manufactory"; each shop possibly had a different outlet for its pottery. This production might have been on a quota basis, and anything produced over a set amount could have been sold with the profit going directly to the potter. This could have been the case with John Schermerhorn.

In 1813, three dwellings located behind a corner house on lot 39 were insured (Fig. 4). The insurance policy reveals that Benjamin was living in the house on the corner.³²

In 1815, DuVal placed another advertisement. The list of products included one new item, three-gallon pitchers, with some reduction in price to compete with those of New York.

STONE WARE.

The subscriber has on hand at his Manufactory, a large quantity of *STONE WARE*, Of superior quality, and well assorted:

Is carrying on the business very extensively, and will deliver the Ware in any part of the City, free of the expense of cartage, and at the New York prices; the freight from thence to this place would average 20 *per cent* at least — Under these circumstances, he is induced to hope that few, if any, will send their orders abroad, when they can be supplied at their doors, with better ware and on far better terms. The following were the prices in New York previous to the late war, and he is determined that no Manufacturer in the United States shall under-sell him at any time. [Price list follows.]

Orders left with Mr. James Brown, junior; Messrs. Moncure, Robinson & Pleasants; Murphy & Scott; W. J. & Roscoe Cole; Philip Du-Val & Co. or at the Manufactory, will be duly attended to, and the greatest attention paid to selecting and packing.

BENJAMIN DU-VAL³³

Later in 1815 we learn of a sale by Benjamin DuVal of certain property to raise capital.

VALUABLE PROPERTY
FOR SALE.

BEING desirous to raise a fund for Manufacturing and Commercial purposes, the subscriber is induced to sell, under the direction of Thomas Taylor, Esq. to the highest bidder, on the premises, on Monday the 10th day of July next, if fair, if not, the next fair day, that

VALUABLE PLANTATION,

On Chickahominy, near the new Bridges, opposite Woodstock, and six miles from this city. [Long description of property.]

*At the same time and place, will be sold,
ELEVEN NEGROES,*

Consisting of men, women and children —

Several horses and mules,

4 or 5 Rumbrel Carts, and all

THE STOCK

OF SHEEP & CATTLE,

Two feather beds, and sundry articles of

Household Furniture.

Twelve months credit will be allowed on all sums over fifty dollars the purchaser giving bond with approved security, bearing interest from the date if not punctually paid.

BENJAMIN DUVAL.³⁴

The reason for this sale is not clear, although it is suggested, six months later, that DuVal needed capital because of a kiln failure.

THE RICHMOND STONE-WARE MANUFACTORY

IS now in full operation. The works, (which have been much impeded some time past, by the failure of one of the kilns,) are in complete repair, and will turn out Ware in future to the amount of one thousand dollars per month, at the least. They will be further extended, whenever the demand shall justify it.

The quality and price of the Ware, strict attention to selecting and packing at the shortest notice, the prospect of a complete assortment at all times, and in immediate delivery in any part of the city, free of expence, cannot fail to ensure a continued encouragement to this useful domestic manufactory. The Proprietor is determined to use his best endeavors, to merit the confidence of and give general satisfaction to his customers.

The present prices (which it is believed are about the same as in New-York, and much lower than the Baltimore prices) are as follows:

5	gallon Jugs, & Pots, per doz.	\$9
4	gallon do. do.	8
3	gallon do. do. & Pitchers	6.25
2	gallon do. do. do.	4.50
1	gallon do. do. do.	3
1/2	gallon Jugs, Bottles and Pitchers	1.12 1/2
1/4	gallon Pots	1
1/8	Gall. Jugs, Pots and Ticklers	.75
	Chamber Pots	2
	Churns	8 to 2
	Milk-Pans	3
	Ink-Stands	

Orders left with Messrs. Asa and Joseph Otis, Messrs. Johnson and Walkins, Messrs. Philip Du-Val, jr. & Co. or at the Manufactory, will be duly attended to.

BENJ. DU-VAL.³⁵

Apparently the sale of his property was successful as the kiln which failed was repaired and production had returned to normal, again quoting New York prices and adding "much lower than the Baltimore prices." This constant reference to New York, and now Baltimore, prices in part reflects the intercoastal trade in ceramics from New York and Baltimore to the South. This reflects also the lack of potteries in the coastal South and the great production of stoneware in New York and Baltimore, and the decrease of imported ceramics from England.³⁶

On March 18, 1816, DuVal insured six buildings on lot 39 (Fig. 4): the three of the January 6, 1813 policy, still being listed as dwellings, and a "Painter's Room" between his kitchen and the three dwellings. With this policy, the kitchen and the main house on the corner are also insured and occupied by "Mr. Bayley," The third by "Daniel Ford." The "Painter's Room" is occupied by Elisha Binney. Evidently at the time of this policy of 1816, Benjamin DuVal was no longer living in the main house on lot 39.³⁷

On the same day a policy lists lot 40 and a dwelling house which was first listed as four separate dwellings on December 9, 1803 (Fig. 4). On this policy DuVal is named as the occupant of this entire 64 x 28 foot dwelling.³⁸ A revaluation of two brick buildings insured in July 25, 1805, is also listed on March 18, 1816. From this policy, and the 1805 policy, it is difficult to locate the buildings today, since the lot number is not given. It is possible that they could have been on lot 53, facing F Street (Fig. 4).³⁹

A policy taken out on April 9, 1817 lists the lot 39 corner dwelling house, formerly occupied by Thompson in 1816, as a "Dwelling house and Tavern" (Indian Queen), and occupied by Richard F. Dennis. At this point the kitchen behind the dwelling is not sketched and an "additional built of brick" has been extended between the dwelling and the kitchen.⁴⁰

An announcement that Benjamin DuVal had transferred the pottery to his son James appeared in May 1817.

Richmond Stone Ware Manufactory.

THE Subscriber thanks his customers for the great encouragement they have given to this useful establishment, and informs them that it will be conducted in

future by his son James Du-Val on his own account, who has made himself a complete master of the business in all its various branches, by several years' experience. The workmen have also become more perfect in the art by practice. The works are in full and complete operation; and it is believed that this establishment, the first of its kind in this city, has arrived to as great perfection as any in the United States. Its customers can, therefore, have no cause to withdraw their patronage.

BENJAMIN DU-VAL.

JAMES DU VAL having succeeded his father in the *Richmond Stone Ware Manufactory*, at the sign of the Jug, second square east of the court-house [Fig. 3b], informs his friends and the public, that he has on hand a very large quantity of well-assorted *Stone-Ware*, and flower-pots, milk-pans, &c. of Earthen-Ware, and is now conducting the business on an extensive scale. The prices continue the same, which, it is believed, are as low as they are in New-York, and much lower than in Baltimore, vis viz:

5	gallon Jugs and Pots, per dozen,	\$9
4	do. do. do.	8
3	do. do. do. and Pitchers,	6.25
2	do. do. do. do.	4.50
1	do. do. do. do.	3
½	do. do. do. do.	2
¼	do. do. Bottles do.	1.12½
⅛	do. Pots.	1
⅛	do. Jugs, Pots and Ticklers	.75
	Chamber Pots	2
	Milk-Pans	8 to 12
	Ink-Stands	3

Orders left at the Factory, or with Messrs. Wilson & Drew, Messrs. Thomas White & Co., Messrs. James McKildoe & Co. and Mr. Joseph Carter, will be duly attended to, and the Ware packed carefully, and with dispatch.

A well-disposed Boy, of good character, about 15 years of age, will be taken as an APPRENTICE to the above business.⁴¹

Richmond Stone-Ware Manufactory.



THE Subscriber thanks his customers for the great encouragement they have given to their useful establishment. Local, and otherwise, he is gratified to inform that it will be conducted in future by himself James DuVal on his own account, who has known himself a complete master of the manufacture of various earthenware, by several years' experience. The workmen have also become more perfect in the art by practice. The works are in full operation; and it is believed, that this establishment, the first of its kind in this city, has arrived to a great perfection as may be in the United States. Its proprietors, therefore, have no cause to withhold their name.

JAMES DUVAL.

JAMES DUVAL having succeeded his father in the *Richmond Stone-Ware Manufactory*, at the sign of the Jug, second square east of the court-house, informs his friends and the publick, that he has on hand a very large quantity of well-constructed *Stone-Ware*, and dinner-pots, milk-pans, &c. of *earthen-Ware*, and is now conducting the business on an extensive scale. The prices continue the same, which, it is believed, are as low as they are in New-York, and much lower than in Baltimore, Md.

5 gallon Jugs and Pots, per dozen,	\$2.00
4 do. " " " "	8.
3 do. " " " "	6.25
2 do. " " " "	4.50
1 do. " " " "	3.
1 do. " " " "	2.
1 do. " " Bottles " "	1.12½
1 do. Pots " "	1.
1 do. Jugs, Pots and Ticklers	75
Chamber Pots	2
Chorns	8 to 12
Milk-Pans	3
Ink-Stands	1

Orders left at the Factory, or with Messrs. Wilson & Drew, Messrs. Thomas White & Co. Messrs. James McElroy & Co. and Mr. Joseph Carter, will be duly attended to, and the Ware packed carefully, and with despatch.

It A well-disposed Boy, of good character, about 15 years of age, will be taken as an APPRENTICE to the above business.

May 9.

1-47

Figure 5. Newspaper advertisements, *The Richmond Enquirer*, Virginia, May 9, 1817, p. 3, of Richmond Stone-Ware Manufactory, by Benjamin and James DuVal. This cut of a jug might have been identical to the sign at the pottery.

From this we learn that the pottery has acquired an identity as "the sign of the Jug," which could well be similar to the advertisement woodcut illustrated in Figure 5. More important though, the location given is the same block previously mentioned, and this agrees with the insurance records which do not list a pottery (Fig. 4).

The same listing of prices and wares occurs, but with the addition of "flower-pots, milk-pans &c. of Earthen-Ware." Later the pottery expanded to include the production of lead-glazed redware. This might have required the construction of different kilns. In July 1817, Benjamin DuVal is listed in an insurance policy as owner of the "Indian Queen Tavern," on lot 39 at the corner of E (Main) and 23rd Streets. He was then insuring a newly built stable of wooden walls with a tile roof.⁴²

Benjamin Du Val is listed in 1819 as living on the north side of E (Main) Street between 23rd and 24th, again at the same location as his pottery.⁴³ In the 1820 census of Henrico County several potters are listed, evidently working independently. Possibly some of them, such as Schermerhorn, might have worked with the DuVal pottery in its formative years.⁴⁴ By 1820, with competition and market possibilities increasing, independent potteries became more numerous.

The *Richmond City Personal Property Tax Lists, 1799-1834* indicate DuVal's ownership of "blacks above sixteen" as an average of three from 1800 to 1806, and an increase between 1807 to 1818, with a peak of twenty. The conclusion one could draw from this is that DuVal was using his slaves in connection with the pottery—an operation requiring digging the clay and preparing it for potting, obtaining wood for the kilns, and moving the finished product.

After 1817, the story of the pottery in the hands of James is unknown, but one can be sure it was not called "B. DuVal and Co/Richmond."⁴⁵ Thus, 1817 becomes the *terminus ante quem*, or the last date possible for the jug. With this date, the manufacturing period between 1811 and 1817 fits well the stylistic date for this form.

In 1822 the dwelling on lot 40 (Fig. 4) was listed by Benjamin DuVal for Elizabeth and Susan, two daughters.⁴⁶ DuVal was listed as living in this house in 1816. In 1822 his residence is not listed. Apparently at the same time another policy was taken out on lot 39 (Fig. 4) revaluing four

dwellings and the livery stable behind the Indian Queen Tavern.⁴⁷

The documentary evidence is strong for the existence of the 1808 "Richmond Tile Manufactory" and the 1811 pottery on the same site and continuing, at least, through 1817. Unfortunately the *Richmond Directory* was not published until 1819, and even then trades were not always listed. Also, unfortunately, the Mutual Assurance Society policies do not reveal the existence of a pottery or tile manufactory on the four lots controlled by Benjamin DuVal in this block. That the pottery was not insured probably reflects the high fire risk and high premium rate. However, the advertisement of 1817 of "second square east of the court house" and the 1819 location of Benjamin DuVal in the *Richmond Directory* as at the north side of E (Main) between 23rd and 24th Streets point to that location as being the site of the pottery. With this information, reinforced with the knowledge that no other insurance policies were taken out on any property other than the block between 23rd and 24th Streets and north of Main Street, I decided to visit the block to photograph the site where the pottery undoubtedly stood.

With a mental picture of photographing a four-story building or parking lot in such an industrial section of Richmond, the visit was made. Today on the right front of the block facing Main Street (lot 40) is an industrial building. At the left end of the block (lot 39) facing Main Street are two two-story contiguous buildings. Neither of the rear lots (53 and 54) was encroached upon by the Main Street buildings, and both are vacant. Childreys Alley runs east to west along the center of the four lots and behind the existing Main Street buildings. Lot 53 has a sand-gravel parking area partially covering the lot. Lot 54 is vacant and overgrown.

In the middle of the block, in the alley and north into lot 54 (Fig. 4), on the surface of the rainwashed ground, were found numerous kiln waster fragments (Fig. 6), leadglazed and saltglazed sherds, and kiln furniture. An analysis of the surface-collected material indicates that a kiln or kilns had been in use nearby. None of the sherds evidenced the impressed "B. DuVal & Co/Richmond." However, because James had taken over the pottery in 1817 and undoubtedly changed the name, the last waster material discarded would, of course, be at the top of the pile. If the waster material was collected from the top,



Figure 6. Kiln Waster Fragments, surface-collected, lot 54, site of pottery (Fig. 4).

A-D. Leadglazed earthenware. A. Neck and lip. B. Strap handles. C. Body. D. Base. E. Bisque body for lead glazing. F. Saltglazed stoneware sherd with "Va" and part of "Ry" impressed letters, cobalt filled. Conjectured mark, perhaps also "J. DuVal" and/or "Stone-Ware" over "MANUFACTORY/RICHMOND Va."

G-J. Salt-glazed stoneware. G. Mouth and rim. H. Round (as in Fig. 1) and strap handles. I. Body of jugs. J. Bases.

K-N. Kiln furniture. K. Prop. L. Wedges. M. Sagger coils. N. Sagger fragment for salt glazing, with evidence of opening for air movement.

two discoveries might prove the material found to be from the James DuVal period.

Among the sherds were examples of leadglazed earthenware (Fig. 6, A-D). The advertisement of May 9, 1817, by James, also announced "flower-pots, milk-pans &c. of [leadglazed] Earthen-Ware," in addition to the stoneware production. This was the first mention of this production and might be considered to be new to James' production line. Possibly among these was found evidence of firing leadglazed earthenware in a saltglazed kiln. This practice is not unknown. The "Poor Potter" of Yorktown possibly used the same procedure.⁴⁸ If James was producing leadglazed earthenware for the first time, these leadglazed sherds are evidence of his production. Also, a sherd (Fig. 6F) impressed "Va" with a partial "RY" (Manufactory) over the abbreviation for Virginia could possibly be the mark of James, changed by his proprietorship.

Among the saltglazed sherds (Fig. 6, F-J) were several forms and sizes of jugs, crocks, and pitchers. Among the strap-handle fragments was found a portion of a "New York type" round handle similar to the "B. DuVal & Co" jug (Fig. 6, H). The kiln furniture (Fig. 6, K-N) are props, wedges, saggar coils, and a fragment of a saltglazed saggar. Also were found bisque sherds (Fig. 6, E), from the first firing stage in ceramic production, before glazing.

Aside from this brief discussion, an extensive analysis should not be attempted based on only a few sherds. With the potential of archaeological investigation by Dr. Norman Barka, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, a full ceramic report on typology and production technology will have to wait.

In summary, the surface-collected material reveals evidence that the manufactory site has been found, or at least the waster site from its production. Undoubtedly, nearby on lot 54, waiting to be excavated, is the pottery of Benjamin DuVal.

In 1826, Benjamin DuVal II died, aged sixty-one.⁴⁹ The drug business became the surviving enterprise as it was passed to James, Philip, and Alexander, all brothers and sons of Benjamin DuVal, Jr.⁵⁰ This business was successful until the War Between the States and the burning of Richmond on March 31, 1865. After the war, the business was reopened and continued to provide Richmond with a heritage of professional pharmacists.

Though the DuVal name has always been connected with the drug business, the discovery of this jug has provided ceramic historians with a known example of "B. DuVal & Co/Richmond" production. By DuVal's words, "The first of its kind in this city," one can say that Richmond's first stoneware industry can now be recognized.

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NOTES

1. That this jug was undoubtedly made between 1811 and 1817 places it in the group of early marked examples. The Yorktown pottery (c. 1720-1745) produced saltglazed stoneware, which parallels the "B. DuVal & Co" situation wherein a pottery was run by a person who was not a potter. See C. Malcolm Watkins and Ivor Noël Hume, "The Poor Potter of Yorktown," *United States National Museum Bulletin* 249, Paper 54 (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1967), pp. 73-112, and Norman F. Barka, "The Kiln and Ceramics of the 'Poor Potter' of Yorktown: A Preliminary Report," *Ceramics in America* (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1972), pp. 291-318. The first marked saltglazed stoneware of southern manufacture known is of Baltimore origin. See John N. Pearce, *The Early Baltimore Potters and Their Wares, 1763-1850* (unpublished manuscript for Master of Arts Degree, University of Delaware, June, 1959). Also: Eugenia Calvert Holland, *The Potter's Craft in Maryland, An Exhibition of Nearly 200 Examples of Pottery Manufactured 1793 to 1890* (Catalogue, Maryland Historical Society, 1955). The first record of a potter in Richmond is in the *Heads of Family at the First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790, Virginia* (Washington, General Printing Office, 1908), p. 117. This is of the city of Richmond census for 1782 which lists a "Dreshman [sic] Lord, 29 years old, potter, in residence for 9 months." *The Virginia Gazette or Weekly Advertiser*, Richmond, March 16, 1782, p. 4, advertises Gersham (Gresham) Lord and Jonathan Park as having established an "Earthen-Ware Manufactory" and that they "make and sell . . . all kinds of coarse earthenware." The future of this venture is unknown. A Jonathan Park is also advertising as a tanner and is listed as such in the 1790 census.
2. Boston examples illustrate this handle technique and to some extent the cobalt decoration at the handle base. See Lura Woodside Watkins, *Early New England Potters and Their Wares* (Massachusetts: Archon Books, 1968, Figs. 88, 89 (right example), and 90. The New York connections are more consistent and stronger; see Donald Blake Webster, *Decorated Stoneware Pottery of North*

- America* (Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1971), Figs. 117 and 217. Also, Diana Stradling and J. Garrison, eds., *The Art of the Potter*, (New York: Main Street, 1977), pp. 106-132.
3. Webster, *op. cit.*, p 106, Fig. 117, and p. 167, Fig. 217. This is a remarkable comparison and well illustrates an identical handle treatment.
 4. *Ibid.*, p. 106, 107.
 5. The Baltimore, Maryland, and Alexandria, Virginia, potters illustrate this technique, and also the Edgefield District, South Carolina potteries, with their alkaline glazed wares. See the exhibition catalogue *Early Decorated Stoneware of the Edgefield District South Carolina* (Greenville: Greenville County Museum of Art, 1967).
 6. Webster, *op. cit.*, p. 106, Fig. 117.
 7. Bessie Berry Grabowskii, *The DuVal Family of Virginia 1701* (Richmond Press of the Dietz Publishing Co., 1931), p. 31-32.
 8. *Ibid.*, p. 29.
 9. *Ibid.*, pp. 32, 79.
 10. *Ibid.*, pp. 79-82. P. 81 of Grabowskii says that Benjamin DuVal, Sr. "was also said to be the first apothecary in Richmond." A search has failed to produce this evidence. There is, however, documentation for his being a surveyor. See Grabowskii, p. 81, and *Colonial Wills of Henrico County*. Number 2, 1737-1801, page 80, entry p. 177. Also see *The Virginia Gazette* (Purdie & Dixon), Williamsburg, January 3, 1771, p. 3, for the estate sale of Benjamin DuVal, Sr. which lists "A very good set of Surveyors instruments."
 11. *Ibid.*, p. 149-151.
 12. *The Virginia Gazette and Independent Chronicle*, Richmond, April 9, 1785, p. 3.
 13. *The Virginia Gazette, or the American Advertiser*, Richmond, August 27, 1785, p. 3. Evidently Samuel DuVal, Jr., cousin via patrilineal descent, inherited coal holdings in Chesterfield County. See Grabowskii, *op. cit.*, p. 174. Also see *The Virginia Gazette, or the American Advertiser*, Richmond, May 4, 1782, p. 4, wherein Samuel DuVal, Jr., wishes to sell a coal mine. Also see Francis Earle Lutz, *Chesterfield, an old Virginia County* (Richmond: William Byrd Press, Inc., 1954), p. 128.
 14. *The Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, Richmond, January 22, 1789, p. 3.
 15. *Ibid.*, December 29, 1790, p. 4.
 16. *The Virginia Herald*, Fredricksburg, October 23, 1798, p. 3. The "sign of the Golden Mortar" was the apothecary located on Main Street between 13th and 14th Streets. See Samuel Mordecai, *Richmond in By-Gone Days* (Richmond: West & Johnston, 1860), p. 225. With future ownerships, the location evidently changed sev-

eral times; see *Richmond Portraits* (Richmond: The Valentine Museum, 1949), p. 61.

17. *Mutual Assurance Society*, Richmond, Volume 196-380, policy 376, May 1800; Volume 859-1009, policy 995, February 10, 1803; Volume 529-770, policy 756, December 14, 1805, copies in Virginia State Library. The 1800 policy is for a dwelling house and kitchen, on the plantation "Experiment" occupied by an overseer. The property was located between the plantation of Joseph Selden and Nathaniel Childress in Henrico County. The 1803 policy lists a barn and stable on a plantation located between Joseph Selden's and Frances Harwood's (evidently Childress had sold to Harwood). On this policy of 1803 Benjamin DuVal is listed as living on the property. The 1805 policy lists a dwelling house, kitchen, and barn and as occupied by an overseer and the plantation bounded by the same property owners. Further search failed to produce information regarding "Experiment." There is a June 28, 1815 sale of a plantation by Benjamin DuVal which could have been "Experiment." See Note 34.
18. *The Virginia Gazette and General Advertiser*, Richmond, July 14, 1804, p. 3. *The Enquirer*, Richmond, March 12, 1805, p. 2, a notice of a meeting, continues DuVal as president.
19. *The Virginia Gazette and General Advertiser*, Richmond, February 23, 1791, p. 3. Aside from this entry, Thomas Warren did not appear connected with DuVal again. *The Virginia, or the American Advertiser*, Richmond, September 25, 1784, p. 1, notes Thomas Warren advertising for three or four journeyman brick layers. *The Virginia Gazette and General Advertiser*, Richmond, January 1, 1794, p. 3, where, in an estate notice, the administrators advertised "two good bricklayers for hire."
20. *Mutual Assurance Society*, *op. cit.*, Volume 2134-2220, policies 2154, 2155, 2156, and 2157, December 9, 1803. Evidently these four structures were identical: "One story of stone above 8 feet high from the ground one Do [story] of wood and a Dutch roof covered with wood 16 feet by 28 feet including a—10 feet [of] shed covered with wood." All were "under one roof."
21. *Ibid.*, Volume 1-249, policies 111, 112, 113, 114, Virginia State Library. These four are relistings of the 1803 policies showing an increase in valuation from \$750.00 each to \$900.00 each in 1805. It is also noted on these policies that all four dwellings are 32 feet from "the back kitchens."
22. *Ibid.*, Volume 1-103, policy 19, 20, July 25, 1805, lists two "brick Dwelling house[s] covered with wood 2 stories high 18 by 16 feet." *Richmond City Deed Book 4*, p. 530, contains deed from William DuVal (former guardian of Benjamin, later Mayor of Richmond), and wife Mary to Benjamin DuVal, for lot 54 (Fig. 4).
23. Alexander W. Weddell, *Richmond Virginia in Old Prints 1737-1887* (Richmond: Johnson Printing Co., 1932), plate XI.

24. *Virginia Argus*, Richmond, March 18, 1808, p. 3; *The Virginia Gazette and General Advertiser*, Richmond, March 18, 1808, p. 3; *Petersburg Intelligencer*, Petersburg, March 22, 1808, p. 3; and *The Enquirer*, Richmond, March 22, 1808, p. 3. In this entry mention is made of "Harwood's much improved patent tile for covering houses." An attempt was made to locate other references to this type of tile, but no newspaper entry could be found. It can be assumed that this was a ceramic tile, as, if not, it would be a wood shingle. It should be mentioned that a Frances Harwood lived next door to "Experiment" in 1803, and two William Harwoods who died in 1789 and 1797 lived in Richmond. Of particular interest is a William Harwood advertising in the *Halifax Compiler*, North Carolina, June 19, 1818, p. 1, that he conducts the Petersburg "Stone Ware Manufactory." The connection if any between these Harwoods and the "Harwood's . . . patent tile" has yet to be made. Recorded in the *Patent Records*, National Archives, is a May 22, 1805, Richmond, Virginia entry for a W. (William?) Hodgson and his "apparatus for making tiles, bricks, &c." Courtesy Miss Susan Myers, Curator, American Ceramic Center, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. William Harwood is the best possibility as the owner of the patent, as, perhaps, he once was in Richmond, because on July 3, 1806, a William Ha(r)wood of Richmond was granted a patent for "Tile and Pan Tile" as recorded in *A Digest of Patents, Issued by the United States, from 1790 to January 1, 1839: Published by Act of Congress, under the Superintendence of the Commissioner of Patents, Henry L. Ellsworth* (Washington: Printed by Peter Force, 1840). Courtesy: Miss Susan Myers. It is assumed that this is the Harwood of the patent. Just prior to William Harwood's advertising, another potter in Petersburg, Thomas Lowndes, 1806 opened his "stone ware manufactory" and continued to operate it there until his death in 1812. See *The Petersburg Intelligencer*, Virginia, 2 December 1806, p. 3; February, 1807, p. 4; 8 November 1811, p. 4; 2 June 1812, p. 4.
25. *The Enquirer*, Richmond, August 9, 1811, p. 3, and *The Virginia Patriot*, Richmond, August 9, 1801, p. 3. Evidently these two industries, the tile manufactory and the stoneware manufactory, ran concurrently for some time, but the exact duration cannot be determined, as this was the only information found of the tile manufactory.
26. *The Enquirer*, Richmond, September 1, 1812, p. 3. It will be noticed that when the Golden Mortar location is mentioned it is "& Son." When the stoneware manufactory is listed it is "& Co." An entry in the *Virginia Argus*, Richmond, May 20, 1811, p. 3, announces that Philip DuVal (b. September 38, 1789, d. 1847) has joined his father, Benjamin, in partnership in the apothecary. Two years later, Philip is also in the printing business with John Burke. Later, *The Enquirer*, Richmond, May 4, 1814, carried the advertisement of Philip DuVal & Co., "apothecary at the sign of

the Golden Mortar." At this point the relationship of his father with the apothecary is unknown.

27. *The Enquirer*, Richmond, June 25, 1814, p. 3 and *The Virginia Patriot*, Richmond, June 25, 1814, p. 2. One year before this advertisement, a Richard Randolph in *The Enquirer*, Richmond, October 22, 1813, p. 3, and in the same paper on January 4, 1814, p. 4, advertised that he had established a "manufactory of Stone Ware on James River, twelve miles below Richmond." This pottery site is known and could be excavated. A full description of this property can be found in the Mutual Assurance Policy Number 1955 and Jeffrey M. O'Dell, *Inventory of Early Architecture and Historic and Archaeological Sites: County of Henrico, Virginia* (Richmond: County of Henrico, 1976), pp. 135, 136, 250.
28. The leaving of orders with various businesses in Richmond is interesting. The same practice was probably followed in the larger cities in coastal states. A check for business associations and the names in this 1814 advertisement revealed: in 1806 Mr. James Browning, Jr., in partnership with Robert and Henry Rives in general merchandise; Messrs. Moncure Robinson & Pleasants are listed in 1819 as auctioneers; Messrs. Murphy & Scott, merchants (Scott and Hobson 1819); Messrs. W. J. & Roscoe Cole, merchants, 1819; and Philip DuVal, Jr., & Co., apothecary, 1814. The ware was undoubtedly transferred to the locations where the orders were taken for the customers or directly to the customers' location.
29. *The Daily Compiler*, Richmond, July 9, 1814, p. 3.
30. *Records of 1820 Census of Manufacturers, Virginia, Henrico County*, Microform 279, roll number 18, item 508 National Archives lists John P. Schermerhorn, potter, as using "50 tons of clay, 80 cords wood, 18 sacks salt & c." with a value of \$350.00, employing 3 men, no boys, 1 kiln and 3 wheels, with \$300.00 wages and \$500.00 other expenses: to produce "stone ware of all kinds."
31. *The Richmond Compiler*, Richmond, October 3, 1820, p. 1. In this and other advertisements, Schermerhorn also lists outlets for his stoneware in Richmond. The "Port Mayo, near Rackets" is probably the area at the south end of Rocket Street at Rockets Warehouse and landing. Evidently New York was the port of entry for the Schermerhorns, as throughout *The Beekman Mercantile Papers*, Philip L. White, ed. (New York, the New York Historical Society), 1956, Vol. III, p. 1473, are entries of correspondence from 1746-1799 with various Schermerhorns in Amsterdam as factors. Richard Schermerhorn, Jr., *Schermerhorn Genealogy and Family Chronicles* (New York: Tobias A. Wright, 1914), p. 162, 163, lists a John Peter Schermerhorn (b. June 13, 1775, d. October 1831) as a merchant located at "187 Front St., New York City. His residence was on Vesey St." Courtesy Diana and Gary Stradling, New York.

32. Mutual Assurance Society, Richmond, Policy No. 1150, January 6, 1813.
33. *The Virginia Argus*, Richmond, April 22, 1815, p. 3; *The Enquirer*, Richmond, April 22, 1815, p. 3, and *The Virginia Patriot*, Richmond, April 22, 1815, p. 3.
34. *The Virginia Patriot*, Richmond, June 28, 1815, p. 3. As discussed earlier, the plantation "Experiment" was where Benjamin DuVal lived part (?) of the time. Undoubtedly a town house was his full-time residence. For this no documentary evidence could be found. In this notice of a plantation sale it is not clear whether or not it is "Experiment" which is being sold.
35. *The Virginia Enquirer*, Richmond, December 16, 1815, p. 3. Kiln failures were not unusual during the operation of a pottery. It is from these "failures," probably during firing, that archaeological excavations of potteries produce such volumes of kiln waster material so valuable in understanding the chronology of ceramic production. The kiln failure of DuVal's was apparently large, as it caused a slowing of production. Here, with this advertisement, also is seen the addition of Messrs. Johnson and Watkins" to his outlet list. The 1819 *Richmond City Directory*, p. 22, lists this firm as "grocers," at the corner of D and 12th Streets.
36. After heroic attempts to establish potteries in coastal South Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland, the turn of the nineteenth century found an absence of potteries along the southern coasts, with the exception of Baltimore and Alexandria. This lack of potteries is reflected in the high volume of northern stoneware found along the southern coast by the MESDA Field Research Program. Examples found, evidencing transcoastal trade, have been from the New York potteries of the Crolius, Temmey, and Commereau, and Boston's Fenton and Baltimore's Morgan and Amos potteries. In addition to actually locating examples of northern ware, such advertisements as the one found in the *Charleston Courier*, South Carolina, of December 26, 1808, p. 3, are not uncommon.

Just Received

By the brig Calliope, captain RECORDS, from New York . . . a variety of FLOWER POTS, MILK-PANS, Dishes, Plates, Mugs, Bowles, Pipkins, & co.

FOR SALE BY

Ann C. Koffsey,

88 King-street corner of Bareford-street

The potential for dominance of the American potteries over the imported English ceramics is reflected in an early entry in the Washington, D.C.'s *Daily National Intelligencer*, April 4, 1820, p. 3.

Crockery. — The Staffordshire, (Eng.) Advertiser, of the 22d January, gives an abstract of the quantity of earthen ware exported from Liverpool to the United States since the peace:

1815,	73,000 crates,	3,582 hhd.
1816,	54,950 do.	6,227 do.
1817,	26,514 do.	5,336 do.
1818,	24,312 do.	5,999 do.
1819,	16,704 do.	3,475 do.

The decrease of importation from 1815 to the present time will not fail to strike the observer. There is no branch of manufacture which we have so eminently on our power to establish as that of earthen ware; we have the clay, and the manufacture is very simple; but if in five years we permit the British to inundate us with not less than 195,489 crates, and 25,569 hhd. of one branch of manufactures, it must follow, that any attempts, on our part to be independent of them will fail. There has been a manufactory in Philadelphia, of Liverpool ware, which soon stopped; there is in New York, a manufactory of superb porcelain, which also languishes. Something should be done to check the powerful inundation of articles which we ourselves can manufacture.

(*National Advocate*)

37. *Ibid.*, Policy No. 1964, March 18, 1816.
38. *Ibid.*, Policy No 1965, March 18, 1816.
39. *Ibid.*, Policy No. 1966, March 18, 1816. These two dwellings are listed as being occupied by "Nancy Suthernhood(?)” and "Juliet Pickett(?)".
40. *Ibid.*, Policy No. 2356, April 9, 1817.
41. *The Richmond Enquirer*, Virginia, May 9, 1817, p. 3. At fifty-one Benjamin evidently had had enough of the pottery business. James DuVal (June 4, 1793-?), the new master, was the fifth of nine children born to Benjamin and Elizabeth. James and his brothers, Philip and Alexander, continued in the drug business. An attempt to locate a will of James proved futile, as did a search for that of Benjamin who evidently died intestate in 1826. On May 8, 1827, the *Henrico County Minute Book*, 1825-1827, p. 435, records "Ordered that the estate of Benjamin DuVal deceased, be committed to the hands of the sherriff of this county to be by him administered according to law." The results of this were not located until three years later in the *Henrico County Will Book 7*, page 369, January 22, 1830: ". . . Benjamin DuVal deceased . . . had no account to render no estate of said deceased having come to me. Hilary Baker, Commissioner." During a deed trace of lot 54 (note 22) it was revealed that by April 13, 1825, Benjamin was living in Lynchburg, Virginia. See *Richmond City Deed Book 23*, p. 410. A check of *Campbell County*, Reel 20 and *Lynchburg City, Will Book A*, Reel 18, failed to locate a will of Benjamin DuVal. At age twenty-three, James took command of the pottery and ran his own advertisement with his father's announcement. With the advertisement of James, one is aware of more outlet

- changes: Carter, a grocer; McKildoe, (James?), apothecary; Wilson & Drew, merchants. In 1820, James DuVal was in business with Hames McKildoe as an apothecary (*The Richmond Enquirer*, Virginia, February 24, 1820, p. 3).
42. Mutual Assurance Society, *op. cit.*, Policy No. 848, July 8, 1817, Volume 701-900.
 43. *The Richmond Directory, Register and Almanac for 1819* (Richmond: Published by John Maddox, 1819), p. 44.
 44. A check of the 1820 record of *Census of Manufacturers, Henrico County, Virginia*, provided an interesting list of potters:

Thomas Amos, stoneware manufactory. [This is the Thomas Amos, active in Baltimore from 1810-1817 as Thomas Amos & Co. See John N. Pierce, *The Early Baltimore Potters*, University of Delaware, June, 1959], p. 87.]

Samuel Frayser, Stoneware manufactory &c.

John P. Schermerhorn, Stoneware of all kinds.

Samuel Wilson, stoneware of all kinds.
 45. During the deed trace of lot 54 it was found that on January 22, 1818, 26.9 feet facing F Street and 157 feet to the sixteen-foot alley was sold to Samuel Sublett. *Richmond City Deed Book 14*, p. 316. With this division of lot 54 it would indicate that the pottery was not on this lot or that it had closed. Also, another indication that it had been closed is that the 1820 *Census of Manufacturers* (see note 44) does not list James DuVal. It could be an omission, but it is more likely that by 1820 the pottery had closed.
 46. *Ibid.*, Policy No. 5216, 1822. This policy is for the entire 64 ft. by 28 ft. building, which actually is four contiguous dwellings. The second dwelling from the 24th Street end had been deeded to Elizabeth DuVal on August 21, 1819, and was described as being twenty-two feet from the corner. From this one can assume that either there must have been some land between these dwellings or that the corner dwelling was not exactly on the corner. This is noted since the insurance policies record sixteen feet as the width of each dwelling. Also this deed has the depth of lot 40 as 157 feet to an alley of sixteen feet width. (*Richmond City Deed Book 16*, page 267.) This alley is Childreys, and it is still in use. It is interesting that the *Plan of the City of Richmond* by Micajah Bates, 1835, does not show an alley in this block, although alleys are indicated in other blocks.
 47. *Ibid.*, Policy No. 5217, 1822. The *Richmond City Tax Books* list DuVal in 1820 as owning lots 39 (improvements valued at \$1,000), part of 40 (improvements valued at \$562.00), and 54 (improvements valued at \$125.00). In 1822 only lots 39 and 40 are listed.
 48. Personal communication with Dr. Norman Barka, Department of Archaeology and Anthropology, College of William and Mary, March 16, 1978.
 49. Grabowskii, *op. cit.*, p. 149.
 50. *Ibid.*, p. 151.

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Errata

Volume III, Number 2, November, 1977

Page 5, line 26. The word "cottons" should read "silks."

Page 5, line 28. The word "cotton" should read "silk."

Page 51, line 8. The date "1750s" should read "1790s."

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are available.

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noted.*

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